Rev. H. C. Wright

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THE LIBERATOR

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VOL. IX. OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. NO. 21.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 24, 1839. ISAAC KNAPP, Printer.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Christian Mirror.

NEW YORK ANNIVERSARIES.

Of the transactions and speeches, before the several benevolent societies, we have given but little in this paper. Of the annual reports of a number, we insert full abstracts, and shall probably give others as we are able. We have received only one original letter, and that speaks of the doings of but a few meetings. This was from an unexpected source, of whose prepossessions in favor or against the Anti-Slavery Society, we know nothing, except by way of inference from his letter. We requested an A. S. brother to write us from New York, but his communication has not been received.

New York, May 9th, 1839.

Br. Cummings: I know you will be pleased to catch the spirit of the anniversaries, and reflect it by the Mirror into the hearts of all your readers. An unusually kind and brotherly feeling appears to characterize all who have congregated, at least, as far as my observation qualifies me to judge.—As yet, I have attended the meetings of only the two societies which, by dividing, almost absorb, public attention—the Anti-Slavery and Colonization Societies. I have foregone the usual pleasure and greater profit of the Tract Society's Anniversary, for the sake of getting good grounds for judging of the present state and prospects of Abolitionism. I cannot promise to impart much of the better feelings of the human heart, by giving an account of what I have seen and heard and felt in connexion with that cause for two days past, but if you will bear with me, perhaps I may communicate something of value to the Christian community. Christians must have facts, if they would feel and act aright; and Christians in Maine, I know, are inquiring for the way and the deed of duty in respect to slavery.

Upon coming to the city on the morning of the Anniversary of the A. A. S. Soc., I found that Abolitionists here were on the tenter-hooks of anxiety respecting certain measures which have divided them in New England. Ever before I had found them in this vicinity perfectly at ease, confident that their ranks would never be divided by Ultraisms or Extraisms of any kind. Nothing has been more common here than for Abolitionists to disavow and discard Garrison and all his retinue, and they never anticipated any trouble from them. But it has happened, somehow, that the apple has been thrown in, and they are now in most amusing, or rather humiliating and painful contentions about it. The A. A. S. Society has ever been managed by a majority of discreet and able men. Mr. Birney I have regarded as the regulator of all the other great or little wheels in the machine, and has given it a steady and strong movement which has gained it friends in increasing numbers every year. Some of the fifty wheels, however, have gained a momentum, which declares independence of the regulator. I will not say how it happened, but a Convention of delegates from all the auxiliaries was called to discuss the matter at this time.—There appears to be a full representation. Massachusetts and Rhode Island are especially well represented, as is also New York and the eastern part of Pennsylvania. I found it familiarly spoken of as one object of the Convention to settle the question whether the Society would *have any thing to do* with Garrison. *This* certainly was considered to be the *all important* subject to occupy the Convention. Yes, *Abolitionists, Anti-Slavery men*, the self styled exclusive *friends of the slave*, called from the extremes of East, and West, and North, to *talk about Garrison* and his fanaticism. Very well, it may be said, if he is retarding and injuring our cause, why not find it out and cut him off?—Very well,—if you will only *do it*. But what has been done?

I can only tell your readers, Mr. Editor, in part; for the convention is yet in session, and will be for two or three days to come. It met immediately after the anniversary of the society, day before yesterday. I was not present that afternoon or evening. I am told that the first point of debate was, who should be members of the Convention. A resolution was offered that the roll should be made out *as usual*, by receiving the names of all *persons* offering themselves as delegates who were members of the A. A. S. S. or of any of its auxiliaries. It was understood at once that this opened the whole subject of the '*Rights of Women*,' especially as there sat Abby Kelly, Mrs. Chapman, Mrs. Barney, and sundry others, ready to claim under the constitution of the Parent Society. There was much eloquent and feeling debate on the part of the Conservative party, with as much of management and specious reasoning on the other side, until the Chairman became confused and unable to find either the latitude or longitude of his tossed and drifting ship, and resigned the helm to Gerrit Smith. He soon brought the crazy vessel into the wind, and got her on her course again. The question was finally decided as he declared in favor of female membership, and the convention adjourned.

Now commences my personal observation.—Yesterday morning I went into the place of meeting. Gerrit Smith in the chair said, 'If any one is desirous of offering prayer, they (not *he*) will now be gratified.' It happened that but one person wanted to pray just then—it happened to be a male—J. Leavitt. The Chairman then said that the correctness of his decision last night, though he said it was by an 'overwhelming majority,' had been doubted, and after various attempts to get the subject before the convention again, a motion to *reconsider* the vote was passed almost *unanimously*. So here now was a free course, and we might expect great sport. The question was on Ellis Gray Loring's amendment to the resolution, by which it would declare that the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society meant by *persons*, male as well as female. A. A. Phelps offered an amendment,—that the Constitution meant that male and female were equally entitled to membership, right to speak, hold office, &c.—This, said he, is *definite*, we shall know what we are doing. Mr. Garrison said he had no objection to the amendment, but did not like the *motive*, at all, of the offerer. It was intended to make the matter as odious as possible to the convention, and to the world, but he was ready.

The debate now begun. The place (old Chatham theatre) was large, and the fewness of the members and the uncarpeted and sanded floors and uncushioned seats and uncurtained windows reverberated every whisper or hem or shuffle, so that there was little hearing, except of the deep, heavy voice of the chair, or the rattling verbiage of Burleigh and some other A. S. agents. Members and spectators were constantly coming in: the former almost invariably 'asking for information' what was doing—as they thought the subject under debate was decided last night. In such a state of noise and disorder, Mrs. Barney (I ought to give her *individual* cognomen, but cannot) of Nantucket, rose to speak. The fact and circumstances would have convinced any but fanatics, that 'nature herself' taught that she and her party were making claims entirely beyond the limits assigned by God and reason for their occupancy. 'A woman'—'a sister'—'a lady,' were the announcements from different parts of the house. 'Gentlemen will take their seats,' said the chair,—'let the house be still' was thundered and echoed from the sameplace—'*let every man be perfectly still*,' was repeated again and again. Mean time Mrs. Barney began her speech, of which not a word could be heard at a distance of 10 feet from her seat. But at length there was a 'great silence,' and a few words were heard by perhaps half in the house, amongst whom I had not the fortune to be. The boisterous debate of the men was instantly renewed, and was soon broken in upon by Abby Kelly, who succeeded in making herself heard.—'She insisted upon nothing, but *free action*' was the end and amount of her speech.

Twelve o'clock had arrived, and a vote was had to take the question at 1 o'clock. The hour was spent in a still more stormy and uproarious manner. A minute or two before one, various efforts were made to evade a decision, but on the hope being expressed by a few that they should 'die manfully,' the question was finally put, by aid of the 'previous question' in a little different shape from the amendment under discussion, and decided in favor of the women by adopting Ellis Gray Loring's amendment, the majority being about 10.

So Garrison has carried his end. He has *identified himself* with the cause of *abolition*. Abolitionists must henceforth, upon pain of his denunciations, whip into his interpretation of their constitution and do his bidding, in every thing put forth in the Liberator. At least this is the appearance of the thing, and is in part the fact. A vote of delegates from various Anti-Slavery Societies throughout the land has declared it.

It is but just however to say that many of the N. Y. and some of the N. E. delegates were disgusted with the idle, man-serving, humiliating debate, and declared they washed their hands of it, while others resisted manfully, and declared and filed a protest. After an adjournment, they met and carried out their beginning, by appointing Abby Kelly on the publishing committee, and I believe one or two other women on other committees.

The Anti-Slavery Society is now fairly before the public. We can all act intelligently with regard to it. Shall we join it or not, is the question for every one not a member to ask, and answer, by his conduct. Shall we continue in it, is the question for every Christian member to answer by a course which shall honor his Christian profession.

In connection with the above notice of an Anti-Slavery meeting, I am induced just to mention that the Anniversary of the City Colonization Society was held last evening, and excited an interest unsurpassed at any previous time. That cause, it cannot be doubted, is not only gaining favor, but is firmly seated in the hearts of the most intelligent and sincere friends of the colored people. While listening to their report of proceedings, I could not but contrast the actual, tangible good effected, with the constructive, intangible accomplishments of the Anti Slavery Society. Indeed I wanted to ask this last for their *treasury report*, for I just then remembered that I never had seen an account of how its money is expended. Is it not proper that those who give money for Abolition should know what is done with it?

I really hoped and intended to have given an account of the more appropriately called, benevolent societies, but neither my sheet nor your columns will allow of much more. The Bible Society had its meeting to day. This anniversary is, you know, the 'great day of the feast.' I never saw so full a meeting. A most delightful spirit reigned. The M. E. Brethren took a noble part, by the help of a representative from London. So did the Protestant Episcopal, as usual. Dr. Milnor and Dr. Tyng were in congenial society That horrible Old School Presbyterian, as I fear some regard him, R. J. Breckenridge, did the noble thing of showing that there are times and circumstances when he can commune with differing brethren. His speech was most acceptable—the first time, I believe, he was ever heard on a similar occasion. The youthful Gov. Seward and also Mr. Taylor of the N. Y. Legislature took evident delight in acknowledging the divine excellencies and benefits of the Bible. O, could this Anniversary diffuse its hallowed influence over our land, it would be redeemed from sin and delivered from the deserved and threatened judgments of God. Let every minister carry the heavenly influence home and pour it upon his people—let every press spread it over its pages and infuse it into its readers, and the work is realized.

Yours,

From the Boston Courier.

OUTRAGE AND IMPOSITION.

To the Editor of the Courier:

I wish to speak of an outrage, as I deem it, practised upon the passengers in the steamer Massachusetts, on Saturday last, which was entirely unknown to the captain, who, I am happy to say, did all in his power to make this, as he always does similar occurrences, correct and satisfactory. He is a gentleman, and no boat or captain stands, in my estimation, higher. The way he talked to Mr. Buffham, who committed the outrage, was a caution, and I hope will make upon that gentleman a lasting impression. It may not be known, generally, that last week was a great one at New York with the Abolitionists; consequently we had quite a number of them for passengers, among whom was this Mr. Buffham, who had with him, beside his wife, colored women, for whom he procured tickets, without giving any intimation of this fact, and put them into the ladies' cabin, where they slept all night without the knowledge of any one. In the night the chambermaid, who by the way is a colored woman, excellent in her place, found them in the birth, and said to them it was wrong, and immediately made the captain acquainted with the fact, who traced it at once to Mr. Buffham. This gentleman said he had done so before now, and would do it again—that he paid their full passage, &c. The captain said he had no objection to his being with them, and had he asked the favor, he would have put them in a room by themselves, where they might all sleep together, if he wished. At this moment, the crowd began to get large and the excitement to increase, so that many began to fear the result. Mr. Garrison, with his party, were on the spot, and, much to my astonishment, upheld all this man had done, doubting if the ladies would object to the occurrence. In fact he appeared to think the company, as a whole, in favor of it. At the suggestion, therefore, of the gentleman, the captain had all called below, and tested the question, by getting Martin Stanwood, Esq. to say, (which he did admirably well,) 'all those in favor of what we think the improper and deceptive conduct practised by a certain gentleman in putting colored women into the ladies' cabin, will please to manifest it by going forward, [23,] and all those who feel disgusted by such proceedings, will go aft, [77.] Thus showing conclusively by their vote and actions, for they would not allow Mr. Garrison to speak a word, that they hold him and his party in this transaction, in utter detestation. G.

Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.—Rev. A. A. Phelps, one of the most efficient and able officers of the board has resigned his seat as a member of the board of managers of this society, and also his office as recording secretary of the office, on the ground that the society has entirely changed its principles, and is no longer an *Anti-Slavery* society *simply*, but (as he states in his letter of declination) 'has become a *woman's rights, non-government anti-slavery society*.' The extravagant doctrines of Garrison and his coadjutors, in regard to the rights of woman, whom they would push forward to stations they were never designed to occupy, and which if occupied would tend to vulgarize and debase, rather than soften and refine, and their notions also in relation to government, have drawn from them great numbers of their ablest and best men. They cannot endure them. Such notions are too bold and disorganizing, for sober and enlightened men in the nineteenth century.—*Greenfield Gazette and Mercury*.

From the Raleigh, N. C. Register, of Feb. 11.

THE LATE JOHN REX.

When we announced, in our last, the death of this gentleman, we were not aware of the beneficent disposition made by him of his worldly possessions. He directs in his Will, that the whole of his Slaves (about 20) be sent to Liberia under the patronage of the American Colonization Society; and for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the voyage, and comfortably establishing them on their arrival in Africa, he instructs his Executors to convert into money his plantation, stock, tan yard, &c. If any of the slaves are unwilling to go, they are to be sold, (!) and the proceeds added to the fund for the benefit of the others.

He also bequeaths 21 acres of land on the western suburbs of this city, together with all the debts due him by note or account, cash on hand, a very valuable stock of leather, &c (in all probably $15,000) for the purpose of founding an Infirmary 'for the poor sick of Raleigh.'

And besides this, he leaves certain property, owned by him in Pennsylvania, to relatives there—being an unmarried man, and having no connexions in this State, Judge Cameron and Geo. W. Mordecai, Esq., are named as executors.

Mr. Rex was one of those unobtrusive, modest men, who pursue, undisturbed, the even tenor of their way, content with discharging the duty they owe to society, and studiously avoiding public notoriety.

MASSACHUSETTS A CENTURY AGO.

The Boston Transcript copies the following advertisements from the 'New England Weekly Journal' for Feb. 24th, March 17th, and April 21st, 1729.

☞ A very likely Young Negro Woman seasoned to the Country, to be sold, inquire of the Printer hereof.

¶*¶ Horses and a Cart with several Negro Men, fit for any Business, To be Sold, inquire of the Printer hereof.

☞ An Indian Woman's time for about 2 years, who can do all sorts of Household Work, to be disposed of, inquire of the Printer hereof.

☞ A very little Negro Girl about 14 years of Age, can speak good English, has been 2 Years in the Country, To be Sold, inquire of the Printer hereof.

☞ To be sold, A little Negro Boy about Thirteen Years of Age, has been 8 Months in the Country, inquire of Mr. James Boyer, Jeweller, over against the Governor's.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

HORRID ATROCITIES.

Mr. Nehemiah Caulkins, of Waterford, New London Co., Connecticut, has furnished the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, with the following statements relative to the condition and treatment of slaves, in the south eastern part of North Carolina. Most of the facts related by Mr. Caulkins fell under his personal observation. The air of candor and honesty that pervades the narrative, the manner in which Mr. C. has drawn it up, the good sense, just views, conscience and heart which it exhibits, are sufficient of themselves to commend it to all who have ears to hear.

The Committee have no personal acquaintance with Mr. Caulkins, but they have ample testimonials from the most respectable sources; all of which represent him to be a man whose long established character for sterling integrity, sound moral principle and piety, have secured for him the uniform respect and confidence of those who know him.

Without further preface, the following testimonials are submitted to the reader.

'This may certify, that we the subscribers have lived for a number of years past in the neighborhood with Mr. Nehemiah Caulkins, and have no hesitation in stating that we consider him a man of high respectability, and that his character for truth and veracity is unimpeachable.'

Peter Comstock, D. G. Otis,
A. F. Perkins, M. D. Philip Morgan,
Isaac Beebe, James Rogers, M. D.
Lodowick Beebe,

Waterford, Ct., Jan. 16th, 1839.

Mr. Comstock is a Justice of the Peace. Mr. L. Beebe is the Town Clerk of Waterford. Mr. J. Beebe is a member of the Baptist Church. Mr. Otis is a member of the Congregational Church. Mr. Morgan is a Justice of the Peace, and Messrs. Perkins and Rogers are designated by their titles. All those gentlemen are citizens of Waterford, Connecticut.

'To whom it may concern. This may certify that Mr. Nehemiah Caulkins, of Waterford, in New London County, is a near neighbor to the subscriber, and has been for many years. I do consider him a man of *unquestionable veracity*, and certify that he is so considered by people to whom he is personally known.

Edward R. Warren.'

Jan. 15th, 1839.

Mr. Warren is a Commissioner (Associate Judge) of the County Court, for New London County.

'This may certify that Mr. Nehemiah Caulkins, of the town of Waterford, County of New London, and State of Connecticut, is a member of the first Baptist Church in said Waterford, is in good standing, and is esteemed by us a man of truth and veracity.

Francis Darrow, Pastor of said Church.'

Waterford, Jan. 16th, 1839.

'This may certify that Nehemiah Caulkins, of Waterford, lives near me, and I always esteemed him, and believe him to be a man of truth and veracity.

Elisha Beckwith.'

Jan. 16th, 1839.

Mr. Beckwith is a Justice of the Peace, a Post Master, and a Deacon of the Baptist Church.

Mr. Dwight P. Janes, a member of the Second Congregational Church in the city of New London, in a recent letter, says:

'Mr. Caulkins is a member of the Baptist Church in Waterford, and in every respect a very worthy citizen. I have labored with him in the Sabbath School, and know him to be a man of active piety. The most *entire confidence* may be placed in the truth of his statements. Where he is known, no one will call them in question.'

We close these testimonials with an extract of a letter from William Bolles, Esq., a well known and respected citizen of New London, Ct.

'Mr. Nehemiah Caulkins resides in the town of Waterford, about six miles from this city. His opportunities to acquire exact knowledge in relation to Slavery, in that section of our country, to which his narrative is confined, have been very great. He is a carpenter, and was employed principally on the plantations, working at his trade, being thus almost constantly in the company of the slaves as well as of their masters. His full heart readily responded to the call, [for information relative to slavery,] for, as he expressed it, he had long desired that others might know what he had seen, being confident that a general knowledge of facts as they exist, would greatly promote the overthrow of the system. He is a man of undoubted character; and where known, his statements need no corroboration.

Yours, &c. William Bolles.

NARRATIVE OF MR. CAULKINS.

I feel it my duty to tell some things that I know about slavery, in order, if possible, to awaken more feeling at the North in behalf of the slave. The treatment of the slaves on the plantation where I had the greatest opportunity of getting knowledge, *was not so bad* as that on some neighboring estates, where the owners were noted for their cruelty. There were, however, other estates in the vicinity, where the treatment was better; the slaves were better clothed and fed, were not worked so hard, and more attention was paid to their quarters.

The scenes that I have witnessed are enough to harrow up the soul; but could the slave be permitted to tell the story of his sufferings, which no white man, not linked with slavery, *is allowed to know*, the land would vomit out the horrible system, slaveholders and all, if they would not unclinch their grasp upon their defenceless victims.

I spent eleven winters, between the years 1820 and 1835, in the state of North Carolina, mostly in the vicinity of Wilmington; and four out of the eleven on the estate of Mr. John Swan, five or six miles from that place. There were on his plantation about seventy slaves, male and female: some were married, and others lived together as man and wife, without even a mock ceremony. With their owners generally, it is a matter of indifference; the marriage of slaves not being recognized by the slave code. The slaves, however, think much of being married by a clergyman.

The cabins or huts of the slaves were small, and were built principally by the slaves themselves, as they could find time on Sundays and moonlight nights; they went into the swamps, cut the logs, backed or *hauled* them to the quarters, and put up their cabins.

When I first knew Mr. Swan's plantation, his overseer was a man who had been a Methodist minister. He treated the slaves with great cruelty. His reason for leaving the ministry, and becoming an overseer, as I was informed, was this: his wife died, at which providence he was so enraged, that he swore he would not preach for the Lord another day. This man continued on the plantation about three years; at the close of which, on settlement of accounts, Mr. Swan owed him about $400, for which he turned him out a negro woman, and about twenty acres of land. He built a log hut, and took the woman to live with him; since which, I have been at his hut, and seen four or five mulatto children. He has been appointed a *justice of the peace*, and his place as overseer was afterwards occupied by a Mr. Galloway.

It is customary in that part of the country, to let the hogs run in the woods. On one occasion, a slave caught a pig about two months old, which he carried to his quarters. The overseer, getting information of the fact, went to the field where he was at work, and ordered him to come to him. The slave at once suspected it was something about the pig, and fearing punishment, dropped his hoe and ran for the woods. He had got but a few rods, when the overseer raised his gun, loaded with duck shot, and brought him down. It is a common practice for overseers to go into the field armed with a gun or pistols, and sometimes both. He was taken up by the slaves and carried to the plantation hospital, and the physician sent for. A physician was employed by the year to take care of the sick or wounded. In about six weeks this slave got better, and was able to come out of the hospital. He came to the mill where I was at work, and asked me to examine his body, which I did, and counted twenty-six duck shot still remaining in his flesh, though the doctor had removed a number while he was laid up.

There was a slave on Mr. Swan's plantation, by the name of Harry, who, during the absence of his master, ran away and secreted himself in the woods. This the slaves sometimes do, when the master is absent for several weeks, to escape the cruel treatment of the overseer. It is common for them to make preparations, by secreting a mortar, a hatchet, some cooking utensils, and whatever things they can get that will enable them to live while they are in the woods or swamps. Harry staid about three months, and lived by robbing the rice grounds, and by such other means as came in his way. The slaves generally know where the runaway is secreted, and visit him at night and on Sundays. On the return of his master, some of the slaves were sent for Harry. When he came home, he was seized and confined in the stocks. The stocks were built in the barn, and consisted of two heavy pieces of timber, ten or more feet in length, and about seven inches wide; the lower one, on the floor, has a number of holes, or places cut in it, for the ancles; the upper piece, being of the same dimensions, is fastened at one end by a hinge, and is brought down after the ancles are placed in the holes, and secured by a clasp and padlock at the other end. In this manner the person is left to sit on the floor. Harry was kept in the stocks *day and night for a week*, and flogged *every morning*. After this, he was taken out one morning, a log chain fastened around his neck, the two ends dragging on the ground, and he sent to the field, to do his task with the other slaves. At night he was again put in the stocks, in the morning he was sent to the field in the same manner, and thus dragged out another week.

The overseer was a very miserly fellow, and restricted his wife in what are considered the comforts of life—such as tea, sugar, &c. To make up for this, she set her wits to work, and, by the help of a slave, named Joe, used to take from the plantation whatever she could conveniently, and watch her opportunity during her husband's absence, and send Joe to sell them and buy for her such things as she directed. Once when her husband was away, she told Joe to kill and dress one of the pigs, sell it, and get her some tea, sugar, &c. Joe did as he was bid, and she gave him the offal for his services. When Galloway returned, not suspecting his wife, he asked her if she knew what had become of his pig. She told him she suspected one of the slaves, naming him, had stolen it, for she had heard a pig squeal the evening before. The overseer called the slave up, and charged him with the theft. He denied it, and said he knew nothing about it. The overseer still charged him with it, and told him he would give him one week to think of it, and if he did not confess the theft, or find out who did steal the pig, he would flog every negro on the plantation; before the week was up, it was ascertained that Joe had killed the pig. He was called up and questioned, and admitted that he had done so, and told the overseer that he did it by the order of Mrs. Galloway, and that she directed him to buy some sugar, &c. with the money. Mrs. Galloway gave Joe the lie, and he was terribly flogged. Joe told me he had been several times to the smoke-house with Mrs. G. and taken hams and sold them, which her husband told me supposed were stolen by the negroes on a neighboring plantation. Mr. Swan hearing of the circumstance, told me he believed Joe's story, but that his statement would not be taken as proof; and if every slave on the plantation told the same story, it could not be received as evidence against a white person.

To show the manner in which old and worn out slaves are sometimes treated, I will state a fact. Galloway owned a man about seventy years of age. The old man was sick and went to his hut; laid himself down on some straw with his feet to the fire, covered with a piece of an old blanket, and there lay four or five days, groaning in great distress, without any attention being paid him by his master, until death ended his miseries; he was then taken out and buried with as little ceremony and respect as would be paid to a brute. There is a practice prevalent among the planters, of letting a negro off from severe and long continued punishment on account of the intercession of some white person, who pleads in his behalf, that he believes the negro will behave better; that he believes he will keep his promise, &c. The planters sometimes get tired of punishing a negro, and, wanting his services in the field, they get some white person to come, and, in the presence of the slave, intercede for him. At one time, a negro, named Charles, was confined in the stocks in the building where I was at work, and had been severely whipped several times. He begged me to intercede for him and try to get him released. I told him I would; and when his master came in to whip him again, I went up to him and told him I had been talking with Charles, and he had promised to behave better, &c., and requested him not to punish him any more, but to let him go. He then said to Charles, 'As Mr. Caulkins has been pleading for you, I will let you go on his account;' and accordingly released him.

Women are generally shown some little indulgence for three or four weeks previous to childbirth; they are do at such times not often punished if they not finish the task assigned them; it is in some cases, passed over with a severe reprimand, and sometimes without any notice being taken of it. They are generally allowed four weeks after the birth of a child, before they are compelled to go into the field; they then take the child with them, attended sometimes by a little girl or boy, from the age of four to six, to take care of it while the mother is at work. When there is no child that can be spared, or not young enough for this service, the mother, after nursing, lays it under a tree, or by the side of a fence, and goes to her task, returning at certain intervals to nurse it. While I was on this plantation, a little negro girl, six years of age, destroyed the life of a child about two months old, which was left in her care. It seems this little nurse, so called, got tired of her charge and the labor of carrying it to the quarters at night, the mother being obliged to work as long as she could see. One evening she nursed the infant at sunset as usual, and sent it to the quarters. The little girl, on her way home, had to cross a run, or brook, which led down into the swamp; when she came to the brook, she followed it into the swamp, then took the infant and plunged it head foremost into the water and mud, where it stuck fast; she there left it and went to the negro quarters. When the mother came in from the field, she asked the girl where the child was; she told her she had brought it home, but did not know where it was; the overseer was immediately informed, search was made, and it was found as above stated, and dead. The little girl was shut up in the barn, and confined there two or three weeks, when a speculator came along and bought her for two hundred dollars.

The slaves are obliged to work from daylight till dark, as long as they can see. When they have tasks assigned, which is often the case, a few of the strongest and most expert, sometimes finish them before sunset; others will be obliged to work till eight or nine o'clock in the evening. All must finish their tasks, or take a flogging. The whip and gun, or pistol, are companions of the overseer; the former he uses very frequently upon the negroes, during their hours of labor, without regard to age or sex. Scarcely a day passed while I was on the plantation, in which some of the slaves were not whipped; I do not mean that they were *struck a few blows* merely, but had a *set flogging*. The same labor is commonly assigned to men and women,—such as digging ditches in the rice marshes, clearing up land, chopping cord-wood, threshing, &c. I have known the women go into the barn as soon as they could see in the morning, and work as late as they could see at night, threshing rice with the flail, (they now have a threshing machine,) and when they could see to thresh no longer, they had to gather up the rice, carry it up stairs, and deposit it in the granary.

The allowance of clothing on this plantation to each slave, was given out at Christmas for the year, and consisted of one pair of coarse shoes, and enough coarse cloth to make a jacket and trowsers. If the man has a wife, she makes it up; if not, it is made up in the house. The slaves on this plantation, being near Wilmington, procured themselves extra clothing by working Sundays and moonlight nights, cutting cord-wood in the swamps, which they had to back about a quarter of a mile to the river; they would then get a permit from their master, and taking the wood in their canoes, carry it to Wilmington, and sell it to the vessels, and dispose of it as they best could, and with the money buy an old jacket of the sailors, some coarse cloth for a shirt, &c. They sometimes gather the moss from the trees, which they cleanse and take to market. The women receive the allowance of the same kind of cloth that the men have. This they make into a frock; if they have any under garments, *they must procure them for themselves*. When the slaves get a permit to leave the plantation, they sometimes make all ring again by singing the following significant ditty, which shows that after all there is a flow of spirits in the human breast which for awhile, at least, enables them to forget their wretchedness.*

Hurra, for good old Massa,
He giv me de pass to go to de city
Hurra, for good old Missis,
She bile de pot, and giv me de licker.
Hurra, I'm going to de city.

Every Saturday night the slaves receive their allowance of provisions, which must last them till the next Saturday night. 'Potatoe time,' as it is called, begins about the middle of July. The slave may measure for himself, the overseer being present, half a bushel of sweet potatoes, and heap the measure as long as they will lie on; I have, however, seen the overseer, if he think the negro is getting too many, kick the measure; and if any fall off, tell him he has got his measure. No salt is furnished them to eat with their potatoes. When rice or corn is given, they give them a little salt; sometimes half a pint of molasses is given, but not often. The quantity of rice, which is of the small, broken, unsaleable kind, is one peck. When corn is given them, their allowance is the same, and if they get it ground, (Mr. Swan had a mill on his plantation,) they must give one quart for grinding, thus reducing their weekly allowance to seven quarts. When fish, (mullet) were plenty, they were allowed, in addition, one fish. As to meat, they seldom had any. I do not think they had an allowance of meat oftener than once in two or three months, and then the quantity was very small. When they went into the field to work, they took some of the meal or rice, and a pot with them; the pots were given to an old woman, who placed two or three poles parallel, set the pots on them, and kindled a fire underneath for cooking; she took salt with her and seasoned the messes as she thought proper. When their breakfast was ready, which was generally about ten or eleven o'clock, they were called from labor, ate, and returned to work; in the afternoon, dinner was prepared in the same way. They had but two meals a day while in the field; if they wanted more, they cooked for themselves after they returned to their quarters at night. At the time of killing hogs on the plantation, the pluck, entrails, and blood were given to the slaves.

When I first went upon Mr. Swan's plantation, I saw a slave in shackles or fetters, which were fastened around each ancle and firmly riveted, connected together by a chain. To the middle of this chain he had fastened a string, so as in a manner to suspend them and keep them from galling his ancles. This slave, whose name was Frank, was an intelligent, good looking man, and a very good mechanic. There was nothing vicious in his character, but he was one of those high-spirited and daring men, that whips, chains, fetters, and all the means of cruelty in the power of slavery, could not subdue. Mr. S. had employed a Mr. Beckwith to repair a boat, and told him Frank was a good mechanic, and he might have his services. Frank was sent for, his *shackles still on*. Mr. Beckwith set him to work making *trunnels*, &c. I was employed in putting up a building, and after Mr Beckwith had done with Frank, he was sent for to assist me. Mr. Swan sent him to a blacksmith's shop and had his shackles cut off with a cold chisel. Frank was afterwards sold to a cotton planter.

I will relate one circumstance, which shows the little regard that is paid to the feelings of the slave. During the time that Mr. Isaiah Rogers was superintending the building of a rice machine, one of the slaves complained of a severe toothache. Swan asked Mr. Rogers to take his hammer and *knock out the tooth*.

There was a slave on the plantation named Ben, a waiting man. I occupied a room in the same hut, and had frequent conversations with him. Ben was a kind-hearted man, and, I believe, a Christian; he would always ask a blessing before he sat down to eat, and was in the constant practice of praying morning and night. One day when I was at the hut, Ben was sent for to go to the house. Ben sighed deeply and went. He soon returned with a girl about seventeen years of age, whom one of Mr. Swan's daughters had ordered him to flog. He brought her into the room where I was, and told her to stand there while he went into the next room: I heard him groan again as he went. While there, I heard his voice, and he was engaged in prayer. After a few minutes he returned with a large cowhide, and stood before the girl, without saying a word. I concluded he wished me to leave the hut, which I did; and immediately after, I heard the girl scream. At every blow she would shriek, 'Do, Ben! oh do, Ben!' This is a common expression of the slaves to the person whipping them: 'Do, Massa!' or 'Do, Missus!'

After she had gone, I asked Ben what she was whipped for: he told me she had done something to displease her young missus; and in boxing her ears, and otherwise beating her, she had scratched her finger by a pin in the girl's dress, for which she sent her to be flogged. I asked him if he stripped her before flogging; he said, yes; he did not like to do this, but was *obliged* to: he said he was once ordered to whip a woman, which he did without stripping her: on her return to the house, her mistress examined her back; and not seeing any marks, he was sent for, and asked why he had not whipped her: he replied that he had; she said she saw no marks, and asked him if he had made her pull her clothes off; he said, No. She then told him, that when he whipped any more of the women, he must make them strip off their clothes, as well as the men, and flog them on their bare backs, or he should be flogged himself.

Ben often appeared very gloomy and sad: I have frequently heard him, when in his room, mourning over his condition, and exclaim, 'Poor African slave! Poor African slave!' Whipping was so common an occurrence on this plantation, that it would be too great a repetition to state the *many* and *severe* floggings I have seen inflicted on the slaves. They were flogged for not performing their tasks, for being careless, slow, or not in time, for going to the fire to warm, &c. &c.; and it often seemed as if occasions were sought as an excuse for punishing them.

On one occasion, I heard the overseer charge the hands to be at a certain place the next morning at sun-rise. I was present in the morning, in company with my brother, when the hands arrived. Joe, the slave already spoken of, came running, all out of breath, about five minutes behind the time, when, without asking any questions, the overseer told him to take off his jacket. Joe took off his jacket. He had on a piece of a shirt; he told him to take it off: Joe took it off: he then whipped him with a heavy cowhide full six feet long. At every stroke Joe would spring from the ground, and scream, 'O my God! Do, Master Galloway!' My brother was so exasperated, that he turned to me and said, 'If I were Joe, I would kill the overseer, if I knew I should be shot the next minute.'

In the winter, the horn blew at about four in the morning, and all the threshers were required to be at the threshing floor in fifteen minutes after. They had to go about a quarter of a mile from their quarters. Galloway would stand near the entrance, and all who did not come in time would get a blow over the back or head as heavy as he could strike. I have seen him, at such times, follow after them, striking furiously a number of blows, and every one followed by their screams. I have seen the women go to their work after such a flogging, crying and taking on most piteously.

It is almost impossible to believe that human nature can endure such hardships and sufferings as the slaves have to go through: I have seen them driven into a ditch in a rice swamp to bail out the water, in order to put down a flood-gate, when they had to break the ice, and there stand in the water among the ice until it was bailed out. I have *often* known the hands to be taken from the field, sent down the river in flats or boats to Wilmington, absent from twenty-four to thirty hours, *without any thing to eat*, no provision being made for these occasions.

Galloway kept medicine on hand, that in case any of the slaves were sick, he could give it to them without sending for the physician; but he always kept a good look out that they did not sham sickness. When any of them excited his suspicions, he would make them take the medicine in his presence, and would give them a rap on the top of the head, to make them swallow it. A man once came to him, of whom he said he was suspicious: he gave him two potions of salts, and fastened him in the stocks for the night. His medicine soon began to operate; and *there he lay in all his filth till he was taken out the next day*.

One day, Mr. Swan beat a slave severely, for alleged carelessness in letting a boat get adrift. The slave was told to secure the boat: whether he took sufficient means for this purpose, I do not know; he was not allowed to make any defence. Mr. Swan called him up, and asked why he did not secure the boat: he pulled off his hat and began to tell his story. Swan told him he was a damned liar, and commenced beating him over the head with a hickory cane, and the slave retreated backwards; Swan followed him about two rods, threshing him over the head with the hickory as he went.

As I was one day standing near some slaves who were threshing, the driver, thinking one of the women did not use her flail quick enough, struck her over the head: the end of the whip hit her in the eye. I thought at the time he had put it out; but, after poulticing and doctoring for some days, she recovered. Speaking to him about it, he said that he once struck a slave so as to put one of her eyes entirely out.

A patrol is kept upon each estate, and every slave found off the plantation without a pass is whipped on the spot. I knew a slave who started without a pass, one night, for a neighboring plantation, to see his wife: he was caught, tied to a tree, and flogged. He stated his business to the patrol, who was well acquainted with him, but all to no purpose. I spoke to the patrol about it afterwards: he said he knew the negro, that he was a very clever fellow, but he had to whip him; for, if he let him pass, he must another, &c. He stated that he had sometimes caught and flogged four in a night.

In conversation with Mr. Swan about runaway slaves, he stated to me the following fact:—A slave, by the name of Luke, was owned in Wilmington; he was sold to a speculator, and carried to Georgia. After an absence of about two months, the slave returned; he watched an opportunity to enter his old master's house when the family were absent, no one being at home but a young waiting man. Luke went to the room where his master kept his arms; took his gun, with some ammunition, and went into the woods. On the return of his master, the waiting man told him what had been done: this threw him into a violent passion; he swore he would kill Luke, or lose his own life. He loaded another gun, took two men, and made search, but could not find him; he then advertised him, offering a large reward if delivered to him or lodged in jail. His neighbors, however, advised him to offer a reward of two hundred dollars for him *dead or alive*, which he did. Nothing however was heard of him for some months. Mr. Swan said, one of his slaves ran away, and was gone eight or ten weeks; on his return he said he had found Luke, and that he had a rifle, two pistols, and a sword.

I left the plantation in the spring, and returned to the north; when I went out again, the next fall, I asked Mr. Swan if any thing had been heard of Luke; he said he was *shot*, and related to me the manner of his death, as follows:—Luke went to one of the plantations, and entered a hut for something to eat. Being fatigued, he sat down and fell asleep. There was only a woman in the hut at the time: as soon as she found he was asleep, she ran and told her master, who took his rifle, and called two white men on another plantation: the three, with their rifles, then went to the hut, and posted themselves in different positions, so that they could watch the door. When Luke waked up, he went to the door to look out, and saw them with their rifles, he stepped back and raised his gun to his face. They called to him to surrender; and stated that they had him in their power, and said he had better give up. He said he would not; and if they tried to take him, he would kill one of them; for, if he gave up, he knew they would kill him, and he was determined to sell his life as dear as he could. They told him, if he should shoot one of them, the other two would certainly kill him: he replied, he was determined not to give up, and kept his gun moving from one to the other; and while his rifle was turned toward one, another, standing in a different direction, shot him through the head, and he fell lifeless to the ground.

There was another slave shot while I was there; this man had run away, and had been living in the woods a long time, and it was not known where he was, till one day he was discovered by two men, who went on the large island near Belvidere to hunt turkeys; they shot him, and carried his head home.

It is common to keep dogs on the plantations, to pursue and catch runaway slaves. I was once bitten by one of them. I went to the overseer's house, the dog lay in the piazza: as soon as I put my foot upon the floor, he sprang and bit me just above the knee, but not severely; he tore my pantaloons badly. The overseer apologized for his dog, saying he never knew him to bite a *white* man before. He said he once had a dog, when he lived on another plantation, that was very useful to him in hunting runaway negroes. He said that a slave on the plantation once ran away; as soon as he found the course he took, he put the dog on the track, and he soon came so close upon him that the man had to climb a tree: he followed with his gun, and brought the slave home.

The slaves have a great dread of being sold and carried south. It is generally said, and I have no doubt of its truth, that they are much worse treated farther south.

The following are a few among the many facts related to me while I lived among the slaveholders. The names of the planters and plantations, I shall not give, *as they did not come under my own observation*. I, however, place the fullest confidence in their truth.

A planter not far from Mr. Swan's employed an overseer, to whom he paid $400 a year; he became dissatisfied with him, because he did not drive the slaves hard enough, and get more work out of them. He therefore sent to South Carolina or Georgia, and got a man to whom he paid I believe $800 a year. He proved to be a cruel fellow, and drove the slaves almost to death. There was a slave on this plantation, who had repeatedly run away, and had been severely flogged every time. The last time he was caught, a hole was dug in the ground, and he buried up to the chin, his arms being secured down by his sides. He was kept in this situation four or five days.

The following was told me by an intimate friend; it took place on a plantation containing about one hundred slaves One day the owner ordered the women into the barn, he then went in among them, whip in hand, and told them he meant to flog them all to death; they began immediately to cry out, 'What have I done, Massa? What have I done, Massa?' He replied; 'D—n you, I will let you know what you have done, you don't breed, I haven't had a young one from any one of you for several months.' They told him they could not breed while they had to work in the rice ditches. (The rice grounds are low and marshy, and have to be drained, and while digging or clearing the ditches, the women had to work in mud and water from one to two feet in depth; they were obliged to draw up and secure their frocks about their waist, to keep them out of the water, in this manner they frequently had to work from daylight in the morning till it was so dark they could see no longer.) After swearing and threatening for some time, he told them to tell the overseer's wife, when they got in that way, and he would put them upon the land to work.

This same planter had a female slave who was a member of the Methodist Church; for a slave she was intelligent and conscientious. He proposed a criminal intercourse with her. She would not comply. He left her and sent for the overseer, and told him to have her flogged. It was done. Not long after, he renewed his proposal. She again refused. She was again whipped. He then told her why she had been twice flogged, and told her he intended to whip her till she should yield. The girl, seeing that her case was hopeless, her back smarting with the scourging she had received, and dreading a repetition, gave herself up to be the victim of his brutal lusts.

One of the slaves on another plantation, gave birth to a child which lived but two or three weeks. After its death, the planter called the woman to him, and asked her how she came to let the child die; said it was all owing to her carelessness, and that he meant to flog her for it. She told him with all the feeling of a mother, the circumstances of its death. But her story availed her nothing against the savage brutality of her master. She was severely whipped. A healthy child four months old was then considered worth $100 in North Carolina.

*Slaves sometimes sing, and so do convicts in jails under sentence, and both for the same reason. Their singing proves that they *want* to be happy, not that they *are* so. It is the *means* that they use to make themselves happy, not the evidence that they are so already. Sometimes, doubtless, the excitement of song whelms their misery in momentary oblivion. He who argues from this that they have no conscious misery to forget, knows as little of human nature as of slavery.—Editor.

The foregoing facts were related to me by white persons of character and respectability. The following fact was related to me on a plantation where I have spent considerable time and where the punishment was inflicted. I have no doubt of its truth. A slave ran away from his master, and got as far as Newburn. He took provisions that lasted him a week; but having eaten all, he went to a house to get something to satisfy his hunger. A white man suspecting him to be a runaway, demanded his pass: as he had none, he was seized and put in Newburn jail. He was there advertised, his description given, &c. His master saw the advertisement and sent for him; when he was brought back, his wrists were tied together and drawn over his knees. A stick was then passed over his arms and under his knees, and he secured in this manner, his trowsers were then stripped down, and he turned over on his side, and severely beaten with the paddle, then turned over and severely beaten on the other side, and then turned back again, and tortured by another bruising and beating. He was afterwards kept in the stocks a week, and whipped every morning.

To show the disgusting pollutions of slavery, and how it covers with moral filth every thing it touches, I will state two or three facts, which I have on such evidence I cannot doubt their truth. A planter offered a white man of my acquaintance twenty dollars for every one of his female slaves, whom he would get in the family way. This offer was no doubt made for the purpose of improving the stock, on the same principle that farmers endeavor to improve their cattle by crossing the breed.

Slaves belonging to merchants and others in the city, often hire their own time, for which they pay various prices per week or month, according to the capacity of the slave. The females who thus hire their time, pursue various modes to procure the money; their masters making no inquiry how they get it, provided the money comes. If it is not regularly paid they are flogged. Some take in washing, some cook on board vessels, pick oakum, sell peanuts, &c., while others, younger and more comely, often resort to the vilest purposes. I knew a man from the north who, though married to a respectable southern woman, kept two of these mulatto girls in an upper room at his store; his wife told some of her friends that he had not lodged at home for two weeks together. I have seen these two *kept misses*, as they are called, at his store; he was afterwards stabbed in an attempt to arrest a runaway slave, and died in about ten days.

The clergy at the north cringe beneath the corrupting influence of slavery, and their moral courage is borne down by it. Not the hypocritical and unprincipled alone, but even such as can hardly be supposed to be destitute of sincerity.

Going one morning to the Baptist Sunday School, in Wilmington, in which I was engaged, I fell in with the Rev. Thomas P. Hunt, who was going to the Presbyterian school. I asked him how he could bear to see the little negro children beating their hoops, hallooing, and running about the streets, as we then saw them, their moral condition entirely neglected, while the whites were so carefully gathered into the schools. His reply was substantially this:—'I can't bear it, Mr. Caulkins. I feel as deeply as any one can on this subject, but what can I do? My hands are tied.'

Now, if Mr. Hunt was guilty of neglecting his duty, as a servant of Him who never failed to rebuke sin in high places, what shall be said of those clergymen at the north, where the power that closed his mouth is comparatively unfelt, who refuse to tell their people how God abhors oppression, and who seldom open their mouths on this subject, but to denounce the friends of emancipation, thus giving the strongest support to the accursed system of slavery. I believe Mr Hunt has since become an agent of the Temperance Society.

In stating the foregoing facts, my object has been to show the practical workings of the system of slavery, and if possible to correct the misapprehension on this subject, so common at the north. In doing this, I am not at war with slaveholders. No, my soul is moved for them as well as for the poor slaves. May God send them repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth! Principle, on a subject of this nature, is dearer to me than the applause of men, and should not be sacrificed on any subject, even though the ties of friendship may be broken. We have too long been silent on this subject, the slave has been too much considered, by our northern states, as being kept by necessity in his present condition. Were we to ask, in the language of Pilate, 'what evil have they done?'—we may search their history, we cannot find that they have taken up arms against our government, nor insulted us as a nation—that they are thus compelled to drag out a life in chains! subjected to the most terrible inflictions if in any way they manifest a wish to be released. Let us reverse the question. What evil has been done to them by those who call themselves masters? First let us look at their persons, 'neither clothed nor naked'—I have seen instances where this phrase would not apply to boys and girls, and that too in winter. I knew one young man, seventeen years of age, by the name of Dave, on Mr. J. Swan's plantation, worked day after day in the rice machine, as naked as when he was born. The reason of his being so, his master said in my hearing, was, that he could not keep clothes on him—he would get into the fire and burn them off.

Follow them next to their huts; some with and some without floors. Go at night, view their means of lodging, see them lying on benches, some on the floor or ground, some sitting on stools, dozing away the night; others, of younger age, with a bare blanket wrapped about them; and one or two lying in the ashes. These things *I have often seen with my own eyes.*

Examine their means of subsistence, which consists generally of seven quarts of meal or eight quarts of small rice for one week; then follow them to their work, with driver and overseer pushing them to the utmost of their strength, by threatening and whipping.

If they are sick from fatigue and exposure, go to their huts, as I have often been, and see them groaning under a burning fever or pleurisy, lying on some straw, their feet to the fire, with barely a blanket to cover them; or on some boards nailed together in form of a bedstead.

And after seeing all this, and hearing them tell of their sufferings, need I ask, is there any evil connected with their condition? and if so, upon whom is it to be charged? I answer for myself, and the reader can do the same. Our government stands first chargeable for allowing slavery to exist, under its own jurisdiction. Second, the states for enacting laws to secure their victim. Third, the slaveholder for carrying out such enactments, in horrid form enough to chill the blood. Fourth, every person who knows what slavery is, and does not raise his voice against this crying sin, but by silence gives consent to its continuance, is chargeable with guilt in the sight of God. 'The blood of Zacharias, who was slain between the temple and altar,' says Christ, 'will I require of this generation.'

Look at the slave, his condition but little, if at all, better than that of the brute; chained down by the law, and the will of his master; and every avenue closed against relief; and the names of those who plead for him, cast out as evil;—must not humanity let its voice be heard, and tell Israel their transgressions and Judah their sins?

May God look upon their afflictions, and deliver them from their cruel task-masters! I verily believe he will, if there be any efficacy in prayer. I have been to their prayer-meetings, and with them offered prayer in their behalf. I have heard some of them in their huts before day-light praying in their simple broken language, telling their heavenly Father of their trials, in the following and similar language:

'Fader in heaven, look upon de poor slave, dat have to work all de day long, dat can't have de time to pray only in de night, and den massa mus not know it.* Fader, have mercy on massa and missus. Fader, when shall poor slave get through the world? when will death come, and de poor slave go to heaven;' and in their meetings they frequently add, 'Fader, bless de white man dat come to hear de slave pray, bless his family,' and so on. They uniformly begin their meetings by singing the following—

'And are we yet alive
To see each other's face,' &c.

Is the ear of the Most High deaf to the prayer of the slave? I do firmly believe that their deliverance will come, and that the prayer of this poor afflicted people will be answered.

Emancipation would be safe. I have had eleven winters to learn the disposition of the slaves, and am satisfied that they would peaceably and cheerfully work for pay. Give them education, equal and just laws, and they will become a most interesting people. Oh, let a cry be raised which shall awaken the conscience of this guilty nation, to demand for the slaves immediate and unconditional emancipation.

NEHEMIAH CAULKINS.

* At this time there was some fear of insurrection, and the slaves were forbidden to hold meetings.

COLORED SCHOOL IN DETROIT.

On Tuesday last we visited the colored school in this city, under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Dutton, and were gratified to find it in a highly flourishing condition. It numbers sixty-eight scholars, of all ages from infancy to mature years. Quite a number of adults, embracing, in some instances, both husband and wife, are members of the school, being now in the infancy of their education. But they are showing by their proficiency, that they have intellects as well as their white neighbors, and are quite as susceptible of improvement. Nearly, or quite all of them, were either born or raised in southern slavery, or are the children of those who were. Among them was Mr. Nash, an account of whose trial at Cleveland, on the arrest of the southern kidnapper, Mitchell, we published some time last spring. His wife is also a member of the school. One man who has been in school ten weeks, now reads in the testament. The teachers in this school seem to have secured the entire confidence of the colored people in the city, and are doing great good. We hope the friends of humanity, among us, will take interest enough in the subject to see that they are sustained.—*Mich. Obs.*

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

MEETING FOR BUSINESS.

The Annual Meeting for business was held at Chatham street Chapel, on Tuesday, May 7, at four o'clock P. M.

In the absence of the President, William R. Weeks, D. D, of New Jersey, the first Vice President who was present, was called to the chair.

Stephen Stanly, of N. Y., William Bassett and George Russell, of Mass., and Robert Purvis, of Pa, were appointed Secretaries.

On motion it was

'Resolved That the Secretaries be a Committee to make up the roll.'

Nathaniel Colver, of Washington Co., N. Y., moved, that our roll shall be made up, according to former usage, and *men*, duly appointed, shall constitute the roll.

Oliver Johnson, of Boston, moved an amendment, substituting the word *persons* for *men*.

After discussion on the amendment, but before the question was taken, the Society adjourned, to meet (in consequence of a pre-engagement of the chapel) in the church at the corner of Frankfort and William street.

TUESDAY EVENING.

The Society met, pursuant to adjournment. Gerrit Smith, of New York, a Vice President, in the chair.

Opened with prayer by Henry Grew, of Pa.

On motion of William Lloyd Garrison,

'Resolved, That no person be allowed to speak twice on this subject, until all others desiring it, shall have spoken: and no person shall speak more than ten minutes at a time without leave of the Society.'

After full debate, the amendment was adopted by a large majority.

The resolution was then put to vote, and carried.

Lewis Tappan called for the yeas and nays, and the call was seconded by many members—but before they were called, the Society adjourned, to meet at the Chatham street Chapel, at 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, May 8, 1839.

The Society met, pursuant to adjournment. Gerrit Smith in the chair.

Opened with prayer by Joshua Leavitt, of N. J.

On motion of J. Leavitt,

'Resolved, That a committee be appointed, consisting of a chairman and of a member from each State represented, to report on the business to be acted on by the Society at this meeting, and to report the rules of proceeding of this meeting.'

E. G. Loring, Mass.; A. Stewart, N. York: I. Codding, Me.; S. D. Darling, N. H.; E. D. Barber, Vt.; W. M. Chace, R. I.; Horace Cowles, Ct.; G. W. Finney, N. J.; C. C. Burleigh, Penn.; John Rankin, Ohio; F. W. Graves, Illinois; W. Isham, Michigan; C. W. Denison, Delaware; A. A Phelps, Mass., were appointed this committee.

The resolution under action last evening came up for debate this morning, by general consent.

A reconsideration of the vote deciding that all *persons* be admitted to act with this body, was carried.

On motion of Lewis Tappan, it was voted to take the yeas and nays on this resolution.

Ellis Gray Loring offered the following amendment: Strike out all after the word Resolved, and insert,

'That the roll of this meeting be made by placing thereon the names of all persons, male and female, who are delegates from any auxiliary society, or members of this society.'

Amos A. Phelps moved the following amendment to the amendment, as a substitute for that of Mr. Loring.

'That the term 'person,' as used in the 4th Article of the Constitution of this society, is to be understood as including men and women, and as entitling women to sit, speak, vote, hold office, and exercise the same rights of membership as persons of the other sex.'

After debate, it was voted that the question should be taken at one o'clock. The debate continued until one o'clock, at which hour the amendment of Amos A. Phelps was rejected, and the amendment of Ellis Gray Loring was carried. The question was then taken by yeas and nays, on the resolution, as amended, and carried as follows:

'Resolved, That the roll of this meeting be made by placing thereon the names of all persons, male and female, who are delegates from any auxiliary society, or members of this society.'

MAINE.

Yeas.—C. L. Remond.—1.

Nays.—Ichabod Codding, J. Underwood, D. B. Randall, C. Cone, Ebenezer Dole, Ebenezer Dole, Jr.—6.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Yeas.—C. C. Chase.—1.

Nays.—N B Warner, S D Darling, Silas Curtis, J Perkins, Wm. H Brewster.—5.

VERMONT.

Yeas.—James Dean, J Holcomb, C L Knapp, R T Robinson, Benj. F Haskell.—5

Nays.—Dan'l. Roberts J W Hale, W C Dennison, E D Barber.—4.

RHODE ISLAND.

Yeas.—Mary E Chace, Abel Tanner, Wm. Adams, Thos. Davis, George L Clarke, Dan'l Mitchell, William Buffum, James C Crawford, Nancy L Brayton, Alphonso R James.—10.

Nays.—Wm. Tanner.—1.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Yeas—Ellis Gray Loring, Elijah Bird, Wendell Phillips, Eliza Barney, Eliza Nicholson, C. T. Bagley, Stillman Lothrop, N. H. Whiting, Amos Farnsworth, Luther Boutelle, Asa Bronson, Wm. Lewis, Joseph Southwick, Harris Cowdrey, Clarissa Lawrence, Moses Wilmarth, Anne Warren Weston, Thankful Southwick, Mary C. Frye, Wm. Bassett, Michael R. Brown, Samuel Philbrick, Jacob Noyes, Rodney French, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Dexter Dickinson, Deborah S. Henshaw, Abner Sanger, Oliver Johnson, H. C. Wright, Charles Davies, George Bradburn, Abby Kelly, J. A. Collins, John S. Hall, John T. Hilton, Henry A. Farnsworth, Ezra C. Smith, J. B. Pierce, Wm. R. Chapman, Edmund Jackson, Francis Jackson, Ezekiel Hale, Jr., John Jones, Simeon Collins, John N. Barbour. G. W. F. Mellen, Hannah Buffum, Harvey Chase, Benj. P. Bassett, Wm. P. Powell. Samuel W. King, Nathan Johnson, Thomas P. Ryder, Josiah Hayward, Benjamin Hall, Samuel Reed, Daniel Henshaw, James P. Boyce, Wm. B. Oliver, Christopher Robinson, John W. Browne, P. R. Russell, Wm. Ashby, W. B. Burley, Thomas Cole, John Parkman, Otis Thompson, Sarah G. Buffum, N. B. Borden, C. P. Grosvenor, L. Woodbury.—72.

Nays—Sewall Harding, Phineas Crandall, Israel Trask, R. B. Hubbard, Geo. Russell, George Goodyear, Harper Boice, Samuel Osgood, S. H. Emery, Charles T. Torrey, George H. Smith, A. A Phelps, Bucklin Fitts, O. Scott, D. Butler, D. W. Alvord, Joseph Hurlbut, John E. Fuller, George Allen, James Birney, Jr. S. S. Smith, T. E. Turner, J. A. Canfield, Thos. W. Ward, Nathl. Colver.—25.

CONNECTICUT.

Yeas—Jonathan Leonard, Samuel Deming, George W. Benson, Asa Curtis, D Plumb, Horace Cowles, William Bolles, A. F. Williams, Francis Hawley, Charles Fairman, Erasmus D. Hudson, Sherman M. Booth, P. Loveridge, John Turney.—14.

Nays—F. A. Perkins, Julius Pratt, Randolph Lindsley, James Averill, A. G. Beman, A. C. Luca, Chas. P. Buck, Lewis Bars, George Hall, W. L. Wilson, James Quinnard—11.

NEW JERSEY.

Yeas—J Leavitt, G W Finney, Alex N Dougherty, James W Higgins, James Howe, Joseph Parish, Jr., Stephen Grimes, Swain A Condit, Aaron Pearson—9

Nays— —— Torbet, Wm R Weeks—2.

PENNSYLVANIA

Yeas—Alexander Sweany, George Sellers, Moses Thatcher, Saml M'Farland, Joshua L Hallowell, Henry Peterson, Thomas F Cavender, Stephen H Gloucester, Edwin H Coates, Robert Purvis, Lewis C Gunn, Jos L. Pennock, Mahlen Linton, John G Whittier, Samuel Webb, C C Burleigh, Jos Healy, Daniel Neall, Jr., Thomas Haile, Sam'l Tyson, Arnold Buffum.—21.

Nays—Sam'l D Hastings, Charles W Gardner, Wm. Adair, F Julius Le Moyne, Henry Grew, Andrew Harris, George M Alsop.—7.

NEW YORK.

Yeas—R P G Wright, H V Teall, Philip Firman, Nathan Berant, J C Delong, Richard P Hunt, Thomas McClintock, Samuel Thompson, William P Green, Augustus Beach, Stephen Angell, Fordyce Rice, Alvan Stewart, J H Murray, T O Buckmaster, J N Knowles, A Hawley, Charles B Ray, John Cross, J Rhodes, G Grant, J P Clarke, Henry Frost, Esther Carpenter, Isaac Post, Isaac Pierce, Samuel Welles, Benjamin Fish, A Doolittle, John Hopper, Abel B Burke, Henry W Davison, Hammon Pinney, James C Fuller, Gerrit Smith, W L Chaplin, J T Raymond, Reuben Sleeper, Sarah E Pierce, John Rhodes, George Cragin, John Brown, David Ruggles, Henry A Garnet, John Robinson.—45.

Nays—Abraham Requa, Anthony Lane, G H Williams, James Hildreth, Asa Bennet, E T Ball, Edward C Pritchett, Hester Lane, James Westervelt, H W Norton, Augustus Wilcox, E S Lane, J M Sherwood, James G Birney, James Wallin, S Stanley, E A Lambert, Asa W Bushnell, William Patton, Jr., Robert Aickman, Jr., N E Johnson, G R Parburt, G Baily, John Jay, Sumner Davidson, O R Bush, R R Kellogg, George M Tracy, Wm T Coolidge, D Willson A O Wilcox, Roe Lockwood, W T Dorr, Peter Williams, S W Benedict, Augustus J Gillett, Frederick James, Fayette Shipherd, Lyman W Gilbert, A Libolt, Hezekiah H Loomis, Selden Haynes, John Cromwell, R G Murry, E E Mills, Theodore McNamee, James Mc Cune Smith, M N Niles, Guy Davis, George Storrs, Clarke Lockwood, Amos Savage, Henry H Loomis, Beriah Green, Lewis Tappan, Duncan Dunbar, G Meriweather, John Low, Hiram Barney, H H Kellogg, E W True, C B Hatch, Darius E Jones, Christopher Rush, Lewis C Lockwood, Mrs G M Tracy, Lucy Deming, La Roy Sunderland, C Keumore, Joshua Bishop, H C Bowen, Thomas L Jennings, James G Barbour, Wm E Whiting, Thos Downing, H D Sharpe.—76.

DELAWARE

Nay—C W Denison.—1.

Yeas—Isaac Colby, John Rankin.—2.

ILLINOIS.

Nays—F W Graves, G W Gale.—2.

RECAPITULATION.

	Ayes.	*Nays.*
Maine,	1	5
New Hampshire,	1	5
Vermont,	5	4
Massachusetts,	72	25
Rhode Island,	10	1
Connecticut,	14	11
New York,	45	76
New Jersey,	9	2
Pennsylvania,	21	7
Delaware,		1
Ohio,	2	
Indiana,		
Illinois,		2
Michigan,		

Total of Ayes, 180. Total of Noes, 140.

Majority 40.

Lewis Tappan and Charles T. Torrey gave notice that they should protest against the allowance of women to vote in the meeting.

Amos A. Phelps offered the following resolution, seconded by La Roy Sunderland.

'Resolved, That in placing 'the names of all persons, male and female, who are delegates from any auxiliary society, or members of this,' on the roll of this or any subsequent meeting of this society, it is not to be understood that by the constitution and usage of the society, women are entitled to sit, speak, vote, hold office, and exercise the same rights of membership as persons of the other sex.'

The Society adjourned, to meet in this place at half past three o'clock this afternoon.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

The Society met according to adjournment. Gerrit Smith in the chair.

Meeting opened with prayer by Moses Thacher, of Pa.

Orange Scott moved the following resolution:

'Resolved, That the editors of the different anti-slavery papers throughout the country be requested to publish the resolution on making up the roll, with the yeas and nays and places of residence.' Adopted.

On report of the Business Committee, the following resolutions were adopted:

'Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to audit the Treasurer's accounts.'

Wendell Phillips, C. L. Knapp, and J. C. Fuller, were appointed.

'Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to examine and report on the letters addressed to this meeting.'

William L. Garrison, Eliza Barney, and C. L. Remond, were appointed.

'Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to examine and report on the expenses of the Society.'

Francis Jackson, George W. Benson, and R. G. Williams, were appointed.

'Resolved, That a committee be appointed to report on the character of the publications of the society, and whether any and what measures ought to be taken to extend their circulation and increase their usefulness.'

J. G. Whittier, Abby Kelly and John Frost were appointed.

'Resolved, That a committee of one from each State, on Finance, be appointed to consider and propose some mode of providing funds to sustain the anti-slavery cause.'

The committee are, Samuel Webb, Pa.; A. Farnsworth, Mass.; C. W. Denison, Del.; W. L. Chaplin, N. Y.; J. W. Mason, Me.; J. Perkins, N. Hamp.; T. Davis, R. I.; A. C. Luca, Conn.; J. Holcomb, Vt.; Isaac Colby, Ohio; W. Isham, Mich.; G. W. Gale, Ill.; M. Buffum, N. J.

'Ordered, That all resolutions, to be offered to the meeting be presented through the Business Committee, and if they decline, in any case, reporting a resolution submitted to them, that the mover of it have leave to offer the same after the disposal of the business reported by the committee.'

'Resolved, That a committee be appointed, consisting of one from each State represented, to nominate suitable persons for officers of this society for the ensuing year.'

D. B. Randall, Maine; C. C. Chase, N. H.; B. F. Haskell, Vt.; S. Philbrick, Mass.; W. Adams, R. I.; F. A. Perkins, Conn; R. G. Williams, N. Y.; W. R. Weeks, N. J.; L. C. Gunn, Penn.; C W. Denison, Del.; J. Rankin, Ohio; F. W. Graves, Ill.; and W. Isham, Mich.; were appointed.

'Resolved, That the committee of nominations be directed to report the names of nine persons to serve as a committee of arrangements for the National Anti-Slavery Convention, appointed to be held at Albany, on the 30th day of July next.'

'Ordered, That no member be allowed by the Chair, without special leave of the meeting, to speak more than ten minutes, nor oftener than once upon each motion, until every other member, who wishes to address the meeting, has spoken.'

'Resolved, That when we adjourn, we adjourn to meet at this place to-morrow morning, at half-past eight o'clock.'

The resolution offered by Amos A. Phelps then came up.

On motion of Alvan Stewart, the previous question was taken and carried.

The main question was then put, and the resolution of Mr. Phelps was lost.

The Recording Secretary presented the report of the Executive Committee.

After explanation respecting former practice,

On motion of William L. Garrison, voted that the annual report be now taken up, and so much of it read as relates to political action.

Select portions were read accordingly, by J. Leavitt.

On motion of William Lloyd Garrison,

'Resolved, That the portion of the report which treats of political action, be referred to a committee of one from each state represented.'

The following are the committee:

Messrs. Garrison of Massachusetts, Adams of Rhode Island, Barber of Vermont, Darling of New Hampshire, Perkins of Connecticut, Dole, Jr., of Maine, M'Clintock of New York, Leavitt of New Jersey, Earle of Pennsylvania, Denison of Delaware, Rankin of Ohio, Graves of Illinois, Isham of Michigan.

Certain resolutions on political action, reported by the Business Committee, were referred to the same Committee.

On application from Mr. Barnes, for leave to record his vote, Ellis Gray Loring moved that all whose names, were on the roll at the time the yeas and nays were called, and who did not vote at that time, be allowed to record their votes.

On motion of J. C. Fuller, seconded by W. L Garrison, the subject was laid on the table.

Adjourned, to meet at this place at half-past eight o'clock to-morrow morning.

THURSDAY MORNING, May 9, 1839.

The society met pursuant to adjournment. Gerrit Smith in the Chair.

Prayer was then offered by James Howe, of N. J.

The Committee of Business reported the following resolution for consideration, which was accepted.

'Resolved, That the Executive Committee of this society shall not interfere, directly or indirectly, by sending or employing agents or otherwise, in the conduct of the cause, in any state within which a state society exists, without the assent of such society.'

Gerrit Smith moved to amend it so as to read, That the Executive Committee shall not send or employ any agents within any state within which a state society exists, without the assent of such society. The amendment was adopted.

The discussion was continued by A. A. Phelps, L. R. Sunderland, Jos. Hurlbut, E. G. Pritchett, Dr. Osgood, Dan'l Neal, Jr., T. P. Rider, Jno. Rankin, W. L. Chaplin, J. R. Wilson, and E. G. Loring.

W. L. Chaplin moved the following substitute, which was lost.

CHAPLIN'S RESOLUTIONS.

'Resolved, That the slaveholding power of the South is countenanced and mainly upheld by the false views on the subject of 'human rights,' cherished and carried out in legislation at the North—that a leading object of the anti-slavery enterprise is to correct these erroneous views, and to obtain a repeal of all legislative acts which, in their operation, are peculiarly oppressive and injurious to the colored people; and that these objects can alone be attained by the systematic instruction and thorough conviction on the subject of their duties, as men and christians, of all classes of society.

'Resolved, That those arrangements which will most perfectly impose responsibility upon the individual officers and members of the National, State, county and local societies, and secure their constant and earnest endeavors in behalf of the object to be subserved by our organization, will be the safest and most likely to attain the result at which we aim.

'Resolved, That the plan of independent State action agreed upon last year, if prosecuted with resolution and good faith by all parties concerned, is believed to be at once the most simple, efficient and satisfactory; and that it ought to be adopted, as the basis of future operations in the anti-slavery cause.'

John Rankin, of Ohio, moved the indefinite postponement of the subject which was debated by Messrs. Rankin, Bradburn, French, Gunn, Barber, and others.

'Resolved, That, when we adjourn it be to meet at half-past three o'clock this afternoon, at the church, corner of Frankfort and William streets.'

Gerrit Smith moved that the original resolution and all the motions connected therewith, be laid on the table, that he might offer a substitute. Carried.

Mr. Smith then offered the following:

'Resolved, That the Executive Committee of this society be earnestly invited, for the sake of securing the advantages of harmonious action, not to send into or employ any agent within any State, within which a State society exists without the assent of such society.'

C C. Burleigh moved to substitute the word *instructed* for the words *earnestly* invited.—Lost. The debate was continued by G. Smith, Thomas Earle, W. Phillips.

The subject was suspended to receive the report of the committee on nominations, which was accepted, and after amendment was adopted, as follows:

LIST OF OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1839—40.

President. ARTHUR TAPPAN.

Vice-Presidents.

James Appleton, Maine, Geo. Kent, N. H. Rowland T. Robinson, Vt. Francis Jackson, Mass. Peleg Clark, R. I. John T. Norton, Ct. Gerrit Smith, N. Y. Samuel Aaron, N. J. Abraham L. Pennock, Pa. Leicester King, Ohio, John Needles, Maryland, Ziba Ferris, Del. James Morrow, Ind. David Nelson, Ill. Robert Stuart, Mich. Arthur Thome, Kentucky, Samuel F. Phoenix, Wis. Ter. Peter Van Vliet, Iowa Ter.

Corresponding Secretaries.

James G. Birney, Theodore D. Weld, Henry B. Stanton.

Recording Secretary.—Joshua Leavitt.

Treasurer.—John Rankin.

Managers.

Maine. Samuel M. Pond, Calvin Newton, Moses Hill, E. Southwick, George Shepard, David Thurston, Daniel B. Randall, Samuel Hutchins, Nathan Winslow, Samuel Fessenden.

New Hampshire. David Root, N. P. Rogers, Daniel Hoit, Timothy K. Blaisdell, Jared Perkins, Calvin Cutler, Edmund J. Worth.

Vermont. H. F. Leavitt, E. D. Barber, Lawrence Brainard, Daniel Roberts, jr. J. W. Hale, David M Camp, C. L. Knapp, O. S. Murray, Merrit Bates.

Massachusetts. Wm. L. Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Amasa Walker, Amos Farnsworth, Phineas Crandall, Nathan Johnson, Samuel Osgood, Samuel J. May, Ellis Gray Loring, A. A. Phelps, Orange Scott, William Bassett, C. P. Grosvenor.

Rhode Island. James Eames, William Adams, Henry Cushing, John G. Clark, William Buffum.

Connecticut Alexander C. Luca, Horace Cowles, U. Tuttle, D. P. James, Geo. W. Benson, Leicester A. Sawyer, George Read.

New York. Beriah Green, Wm. L. Chaplin, R. P. G. Wright, O. N. Bush, Reuben Sleeper, N. E. Johnson, Alvan Stewart, Henry Brewster, Samuel Wells, Elon Galusha, C. W. Denison, James C. Fuller, S. W. Benedict.

New Jersey. John Grimes, James Cook, James White, J. W. Higgins, A. N. Dougherty, James Parkhurst, N. P. Thomas, C Pelloubet.

Pennsylvania. J G Whittier, Thomas Earle, Peter Wright, F J Le Moyne, J P Gazzam, Nathan Stem, Wm. Jessup, James Forten, Leonard Fletcher, Robert Purvis, Wm. A Adair, Lindley Coates, Daniel Neal, jr, Chas. W Gardner, Samuel Webb.

Ohio. Robert Stewart, James C Ludlow, John M Sterling, Benjamin Stanton, Wm. Donaldson, James Gilleland, Wm. W. Bancroft, Asa Mahan, George Carey, George Whipple, John Rankin.

Indiana. Timothy Spaulding, Samuel Donald, sen. Herbert Williams, Luke Munsell, John Sailer, Wm. Twining.

Illinois. James M Buchanan, Asa Turner, James H Dickey, Owen Lovejoy, Benjn. Lundy, Wm. Stewart, Geo. W Gale, Edward Beecher.

Delaware. Samuel Boozly, Hume Jenkins, Henry Gibbons, Sam'l M Gayley.

Michigan. J P Cleaveland, Wm. Kirkland, Marcus Harrison, Arthur L Porter, Charles Hastings.

Wisconsin Territory. D S Holliston, Nathan G. Storrs.

Iowa Territory. Isaac Field, Asa Turner, jr, Lewis Tapping.

The Society then adjourned, to meet at half past two o'clock instead of half past three.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

The Society met according to adjournment. Gerrit Smith in the chair. Prayer was made by John Rankin of Ohio.

Lewis C. Gunn, by consent, introduced the following amendment.

'That the Executive Committee of this society ought to send no agent into, nor employ any agent in a State where there is a State society, without the assent of such society; provided that, if a request be sent, by a county or town society for an agent to labor among them, he may be sent, with instructions to confine his labors to such particular society or societies.

The debate was continued by A St. Clair, C C Burleigh, T P Ryder, J G Birney, G Smith, Beriah Green, L C Gunn, O Scott, and J Leavitt.

Lewis C Gunn withdrew his amendment, which was renewed by Charles T Torrey.

The question was taken on Mr. Torrey's amendment, and lost.

Mr. Leavitt moved to amend, by striking out the words, '*The Executive Committee are invited not to send,*' and insert the words, *the Society will not send.* Lost.

The resolution offered by Gerrit Smith, was adopted, as follows:

'Resolved, That the Executive Committee are earnestly invited for the sake of securing the advantages of harmonious action, not to send into or employ any agents in a State, within which a State Society exists, without the assent of such Society.'

Mr. Garrison, from the Committee to whom was referred so much of the annual report as relates to political action, made their report as follows:

ON THE ANNUAL REPORT.

'Resolved, That the Executive Committee be requested to omit that part of their report, contained between the 17th line on the 59th page, to the 17th line on the 60th page, as containing language liable to misconstruction: and that they be authorized to omit or verbally amend any other portion which they may see fit, and then to publish the said report as the sentiments of the Executive Committee.

ON POLITICAL ACTION.

1. 'Resolved, That it is the duty of the American people, and especially of abolitionists, to endeavor to elect such men only to legislative and other official stations as will advocate the repeal of every legal enactment by which the aid of the public authority is lent to the support of slavery.

2. 'Resolved, That the temporary and repeated failures to attain the objects sought by abolitionists in petitioning and in voting at the polls for opponents of slavery, constitute no valid grounds for abandoning those measures; but we have full confidence that a steady perseverance in them will secure an ultimate triumph.

3. 'Resolved, That in the original formation of this society, it was not contemplated, nor is it now desired to exclude from its membership any persons, on account of their being prevented by conscientious scruples from participating in all the measures which the mass of the society, either originally or subsequently, may have contemplated as proper for the advancement of the Anti-Slavery cause.'

The first resolution reported was taken up.

On motion of Joshua Leavitt, seconded by H C Wright, the question was divided. The first clause was taken up and discussed, and after explanation by members of the Committee, and discussion by several members, the whole resolution was then laid on the table.

Ellis Gray Loring then moved that the report of the Executive Committee be referred back to that Committee, with liberty to cause such portions of it to be printed, as the expression of their own sentiments, as they may choose.

This was discussed by Messrs. Lee, Garrison, R G Williams, C C Burleigh.

R G Williams moved to amend, by striking out the words, *as the expression of their sentiments.* Lost.

C C Burleigh moved as a substitute—That the report be referred back to the Executive Committee, with instructions to prepare for publication a simple historical account of their doings, and the income, expenditures and funds of the Society—Which was debated by J Leavitt, E D Barber, C T Torrey, H C Wright, E G Loring, Gerrit Smith, H Grew, Dr. Rice, A Buffum.

Gerrit Smith moved an alteration.

The previous question was then called and carried.

The question then recurred on Mr. Loring's motion, which was carried. A division being called for, there appeared for the motion 98, and against it 55. It is as follows:

'Resolved, That the report of the Executive Committee be referred back to that Committee, with liberty to cause such portions of it to be printed, as the expression of their own sentiments, as they may choose.'

Wendell Phillips moved that this resolution be published immediately preceding the report, as well as among the proceedings of the Society.

Ellis Gray Loring moved that the rules be suspended for the purpose of receiving this motion without its passing through the Business Committee, pending which,

The Society adjourned to meet in this place at half past seven o'clock this evening.

THURSDAY EVENING.

The society met pursuant to adjournment. The president of the society in the chair. Opened with prayer by Phineas Crandall.

Ellis Gray Loring withdrew his motion for a suspension of the rules.

The Business Committee reported several resolutions, which were accepted and laid on the table.

The vote passed this day respecting the annual report, was reconsiderd.

On motion of Henry B Stanton, it was amended by striking out the words *that committee*, and inserting the words, *the Executive Committee.*

On motion of N B Borden, the words, *of the last year*, were inserted after the word *Committee*, in the first line, and the word *present* before the words *Executive Committee*' in the second line.

Joshua Leavitt moved to strike out all after the word *Committee* in the second line, and insert the words, *for revisal and publication.*

Mr. Ryder called for the Previous Question, which was lost.

The amendment was then put and carried.

Charles C Burleigh moved to amend by adding the words, *as the expression of their opinions.*

The Previous Question was called for, but withdrawn.

After the discussion by C C Burleigh, C W Gardner, and others,

C T Torry moved that the resolution lie on the table. Lost.

The debate was continued by J Leavitt. P R Russell, Amasa Walker, D Neall, Jr., and Henry Grew, and the question was taken on Mr. Burleigh's amendment and carried.

The main question was then taken, and the resolution adopted, as follows.

'Resolved, That the Report of the Executive Committee of last year be referred to the present Executive Committee for revisal and publication, as the expression of their opinions.'

The Business Committee reported further resolutions, which were accepted and laid on the table.

The meeting was then adjourned to meet in this place at half past eight o'clock to-morrow morning.

FRIDAY MORNING, May 10, 1839.

The society met pursuant to adjournment. Rowland T Robinson, one of the Vice Presidents, in the chair.

Mr. Garrison, from the committee on correspondence, reported, and the report was adopted, as follows:

'The Committee to whom were referred the letters addressed to the meeting, from abolitionists in various parts of the country, report that these letters be referred to the Executive Committee, with instructions to publish such of them in the Emancipator as they shall think proper.'

Samuel Webb, from the Committee on finance, reported three resolutions as follows:

1. 'Resolved, That be a committee to visit the philanthropists of Great Britain, and receive from them contributions to aid the Anti-Slavery cause in this country, and that the funds when received, (after deducting the expense of collection,) be paid into the treasury of this Society.

2. Resolved, That the sum of thirty-two thousand five hundred dollars be raised for the use of this society, by an equitable contribution among the several States.

3. Resolved, That it be recommended to such auxiliary societies as are disposed to take the charge of the abolition cause within their respective fields, to make arrangements with the Executive Committee of this society, *guaranteeing* to our treasury such stated payments as may be adjudged reasonable, and then assuming within their own limits the entire direction of lecturers and agents in forming local societies, collecting funds, circulating memorials, and establishing libraries; and that this society will not send its agents to labor for these objects with the bounds of such auxiliaries as carry out this plan, except in concurrence with the Executive Committee of such auxiliaries.'

The report was accepted, and the first resolution was taken up, and debated by J. C. Fuller, C. C. Burleigh, W. L. Chaplin, Abby Kelly, H. C. Wright, Isaac Pierce, D. Neall, Jr., G. W. Finney.

E. D. Barber moved that the resolution be laid on the table. Carried.

Francis Jackson, one of the Vice Presidents, took the chair.

The second resolution was taken up, and debated by J. Holcomb, A. Stewart, J. Rankin, E. D. Barber, H. B. Stanton, S. Webb, W. Phillips, and J. G. Birney, and, then, on motion of J. G. Birney, was laid on the table.

The Auditing Committee reported, and their report was accepted, as follows:

'New York, May 9th, 1839.

'The Treasurer's accounts and vouchers have been submitted to our inspection and examination, and we find a balance due the treasurer, of two hundred and seven dollars and eighty cents.

Signed Wendell Phillips, James C. Fuller, Chauncey L. Knapp, } Auditors.'

The third resolution reported by the Finance Committee, was taken up and laid on the table.

The Business Committee reported the following resolution, which was accepted and laid on the table.

1 'Resolved, That the sense of this society be taken on the following proposition—Can the Anti-Slavery cause be best conducted without any of the machinery of the American Anti-Slavery Society—solely by independent State action?'

The resolutions reported by Mr. Garrison on political action were then taken up. Mr. French moved to lay them on the table for the purpose of introducing a resolution, that the society will adjourn, *sine die*, at four o'clock this afternoon. Lost.

On motion of Oliver Johnson, seconded by William L. Garrison, the last resolution was taken up first.

A motion of James G. Birney to lay it on the table, was lost.

James G. Birney offered a substitute, which was cut off by the Previous Question.

The Previous Question was called by Oliver Johnson, and ordered, and the resolution, without the amendment, was passed.

The first resolution was then taken up, and the previous question called by Wendell Phillips, and ordered. The resolution was then put and carried.

James G. Birney offered the following resolution, which had been submitted to the Business Committee and by them refused to be presented.

'Resolved, That to maintain that the elective franchise ought not to be used by abolitionists to advance the cause of emancipation is inconsistent with the duty of abolitionists under the constitution.'

It was moved to lay it on the table.

Mr. Birney withdrew his resolution for the present.

The Business Committee presented the following resolution which was accepted and laid on the table.

'Resolved, As the sense of this society, that the annual reports of the Executive Committee be regarded solely as their own reports, and not as the reports of the American Society.'

The following resolution was reported by the Business Committee.

'Resolved, That this society still holds, as it has from the beginning, that the employment of the political franchises, as established by the constitution and laws of the country, so as to promote the abolition of slavery, is of high obligation—a duty, which, as abolitionists, we owe to our enslaved fellow countrymen groaning under legal oppression.'

On motion of J. Leavitt, the report was accepted, and the resolution debated by J. Leavitt, H. B. Stanton, C. C. Burleigh, G. Bradburn, J. G. Birney.

C. C. Burleigh offered as an amendment,

'That the abolitionist who regards it as his duty to use the elective franchise, and yet uses it against, or neglects to use it *for* the promotion of the cause of emancipation, is false to his own principles and clearly fails to do his duty.'

Mr. Birney offered as an amendment the resolution he had before withdrawn.

The Committee on Nomination reported a list of names for the Committee of Arrangements of the National Convention, which was laid on the table.

The debate was continued by A. Walker, N. Colver, A. St. Clair, G W. Benson, E. W. Chester, J. Frost, A. A. Phelps, W. Buffum.

The previous question was then called, and sustained, cutting off all the amendments.

The yeas and nays were called for, on the main question, and on a division, there appeared sixty-three in favor of the yeas and nays, and eighty in the negative. The chair decided that the call for the yeas and nays was sustained. An appeal was taken and withdrawn.

The question was then taken on the original motion, and carried as follows:

MAINE.

Yea—I. Codding, E. Dole, Jr., C. L. Remond, 3.

Nay—Thomas T. Stone, 1.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Yea—Silas Curtis, Benjamin Cornings, 2.

VERMONT.

Yea—J. W. Hale, J. Holcomb, B. F. Haskell, 3.

Nay—R. T. Robinson, 1.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Yea—Phineas Crandall, A. St. Clair, Dexter Dickinson, C. T. Torrey, G. A. Smith, A. A. Phelps, O. Scott, Geo. Allen, J. A. Campfield, Josiah Brackett, C. P. Grosvenor, N. Colver, N. B. Borden, 13.

Nay—Elijah Bird, Wendell Phillips, Eliza Barney, Eliza Nicholson, Stillman Lothrop, N H Whiting, L Boutelle, William Lewis, Joseph Southwick, Mary C Frye, W Bassett, M R Brown, Jacob Noyes, Rodney French, B P Bassett, W P Powell, Nathan Johnson, Israel Hayward, Benj Hall, P R Russell, W Ashby, W A Burley, Thos Cole, Mary A W Johnson, W L Garrison, Abner Sawyer, Oliver Johnson, H C Wright, Geo Bradburn, Abby Kelly, J A Collins, John S Hall, J T Hilton, H A Farnsworth, W R Chapman, Francis Jackson, Ezekiel Hale, Jr, John Jones, G W F Mellen, Sarah G Buffum, T P Ryder, C D Davis, Amos Farnsworth, J. S. Hall, H. M. Cowdry, Anne W. Weston, Thankful Southwick, 47.

RHODE ISLAND.

Yea—Hiram Brooks, Wm. Tanner, 2.

Nay—Mary E Chase, Abel Tanner, William Adams, William Buffum, Nancy L Brayton, Thomas Davis, 6.

CONNECTICUT.

Yea—A G Beman, A C Luca, E D Hudson, Sherman N Booth, 4.

Nay—Jonathan Leonard, Geo W Benson, 2.

NEW YORK.

Yea—R P G Wright, E W Chester, A Regna, Luther Lee, Anthony Lane, Jas T Hildreth, Robert Aikman, E C Pritchett, Hester Lane, Alvan Stewart, Alex Crummell, James G Birney, James Wallin, G R Parburt, Stephen Stanley, E A Lambert, William Patton, Jr, John Frost, Samuel Wells, Adrastus Doolittle, A O Wilcox, Roe Lockwood, W S Dorr, S W Benedict, Lyman W Gilbert, James Cannings Fuller, Henry H Loomis, W L Chaplin, Beriah Green, Duncan Dunbar, J T Raymond, J P Turney, Hiram Barney, H H Kellogg, La Roy Sunderland, Theodore S Wright, Henry H Garnet, D E Jones, J Buckner, John Cross, Geo Cragin, 41.

Nay—Nathan Blount, R P Hunt, W P Green, Augustus Beach, Fordyce Rice, Edward P Clarke, Benj Fish, John Hopper, Abel B Burke, Henry W Davison, 10.

NEW JERSEY.

Yea—Joshua Leavitt, S W Buffum, A M Torbet, S A Condit, A Bradley, 5.

Nay—Joseph Parrish, Jr, 1.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Yea—Charles W Gardiner, Henry Grew, George M Alsop, John G Whittier, Samuel Webb, Joseph Healey, 6.

Nay—W Adair, Joshua L Hallowell, Henry Peterson, Thomas S Cavendar, Lewis C Gunn, Mahlon Linton, C C Burleigh, Daniel Neall, Jr, Samuel Tyson, 9.

DELAWARE.

Yea—Charles W Denison, 1.

OHIO.

Yea—Isaac Colby, John Rankin, 2.

ILLINOIS.

Yea—G W Gale, 1.

MICHIGAN.

Yea—Warren Isham, 1.

RECAPITULATION.

States.	*Yea.*	*Nay.*
Maine,	3	
New Hampshire,	2	1
Vermont,	3	
Massachusetts,	13	1
Rhode Island,	2	47
Connecticut,	4	6
New York,	41	2
New Jersey,	5	10
Pennsylvania,	6	1
Delaware,	1	9
Ohio,	2	
Illinois,	1	
Michigan,	1	
Total,	81	77

[The above decision is not to be regarded in the light of a test question. Mr. Burleigh's amendment was preferred by many, because its phraseology was too plain to be misconstrued; but the previous question being called for, that amendment was cut off, and hence the closeness of the vote upon the original resolution, which was drawn up, we believe, by John G. Whittier.]—*Ed. Lib.*

Mr. Birney presented a Protest, of 123 members of the meeting, against the vote adopted by the Society respecting the admission of women to vote.

On motion, the Protest was ordered to be entered on the records, and published with the proceedings of the meeting. The Protest is as follows:

[The Protest has not been received by us, but shall appear in our columns next week.]

Alvan Stewart moved the appointment of a committee of three to reply to the Protest.

G. W. Benson moved to lay it on the table. Carried.

Rodney French moved to adjourn *sine die.* Withdrawn.

C. L. Knapp moved to adjourn till 4 o'clock, P. M. Withdrawn.

J. C. Fuller was called to the chair.

The resolutions respecting Hiram Wilson, and the fugitives from slavery, were taken up, amended and passed.

'Whereas, the elevation of the free people of color is among the avowed objects of our organization: and whereas, the fact that thousands of our enslaved fellow-countrymen have been compelled to take refuge from republican oppression, in the Canadian possessions of the British crown, does not release us from obligation to labor for their intellectual and moral welfare; and whereas, it is our duty to aid them in obtaining the blessings of christian education, in their only refuge from the power of the oppressor; and whereas, the efforts of our noble brother, Hiram Wilson, and his benevolent co adjutors, for this end, ought to be sustained, and their sphere of labor extended till it embraces all these 'poor outcasts.' And whereas, it is unjust to those, and on other accounts unwise to throw upon brother Wilson the *whole* labor and responsibility of sustaining these schools, and collecting and disbursing the necessary funds; and whereas, there is no organized association which can legitimately take charge of these operations, except our own, and those affiliated with it; therefore

'Resolved, That we regard the object in which Hiram Wilson is engaged, viz: to promote the intellectual and moral elevation of the colored people in Canada, as having strong claims to the patronage of Christians and philanthropists.

'Resolved, That it be recommended to the Committee of the Convention of western New York, holden at Pen Yan, to go forward in the adoption of the necessary measures to attain the end of their appointment.'

The resolutions respecting amendments of the Constitution were taken up, amended and passed.

'Resolved, That the same persons who were appointed at the last anniversary to consider and report at the next annual meeting, upon the expediency of amending the Constitution of this Society, viz: Ellis Gray Loring, Amos A. Phelps, David L. Child, J. T. Norton and William L. Chaplin, be re-appointed a committee for the above purpose, and that the subjects under their consideration the present year, be continued under reference to them.

'Resolved, That the chairman of said committee give notice as soon as may be, to the Executive Committee, of the results of their deliberations, that the members of this Society may be early informed through the Emancipator of the amendments, if any, which may be submitted for their action, at the next annual meeting.'

The resolution, first offered by Wendell Phillips, requiring the resolutions on the annual report to be fixed to the report, as well as published among the proceedings, was taken up and laid on the table.

The resolution, first offered by Mr. Birney, proposing a definite settlement of the question respecting the State Societies, was taken up and laid on the table.

The resolutions declaring the annual reports of the Executive Committee not to be the reports of the Society, was taken up and laid on the table.

The report of the committee on publications was accepted and ordered to be printed with the proceedings.

The resolution respecting the free colored people was adopted.

Resolved, That the committee be instructed to inquire into the expediency of more general and direct efforts to promote the political, intellectual and moral elevation of the whole of our free colored population, either by the agents and funds of this society, or by a new association to be formed for the purpose—and in case the latter course is deemed most wise, that they be directed to take measures for the organization of such an association, either in connection with the National Anti-Slavery Convention in the summer, or at some other suitable period, as early as may be.

On motion of R. French, the meeting adjourned, *sine die*, at 4 o'clock, P. M.

O'CONNELL.

The sublime and thrilling eloquence of the following extract from the Herald of Freedom, can scarcely be surpassed. Speaking of 'the great Agitator,' friend Rogers thus remarks:

'His matchless talent and energy—his eloquence, that mighty kind, that revolutionizes nations, his great legal depth and sagacity that could guide his enthusiastic countrymen, unscathed and unexposed, along the very verge of treason against a government jealous for its supremacy 'as the eagle for her high eyrie'—and watching for the stumbling of Ireland as the bird for the prey;—that rode fearlessly and in safety on the rein of the maelstrom where perished the Emmets and the Shearses:—that could conduct Irish *rebellion, according* to British *law!* His invulnerable integrity. Britain had not a diamond in her crown that could dazzle his fidelity, or make him forget he was an Irishman. His shoreless philanthropy—unchecked by oceans—compassing the countless complexions and the confused tongues of the human race. His '*agitatings*'—standing there, in solitary sublimity, on the 'great globe itself,'—his arena—his country and his home, and sending his voice into all climes. The isles heard him, in the distant tropics, and the slave 'shook his chains in transport and rude harmony.' And to America, too, 'careering like the thunder against the winds'—he sent his 'Freedom's rallying word'—and now this tyrant nation fears him as Europe feared Napoleon. They hear his voice as the cry of destiny. He humbles her haughty ambassadors in Exeter Hall—and though it was the untitled 'rint master'—the 'mob orator of Clare and Kenny'—yet the accumulated dignity of this whole slaveholding Republic availed not the restless plenipotentiaries. They dare not endure the rebuke of O'Connell before the world, and sought relief in a duel. O'Connell disposed of their challenges, as he would have answered a spoiled schoolboy.

Henry Clay had the desperation to deride him in his mad speech in the Senate. O'Connell will hear of that. He has heard of Henry Clay, and Clay will hear from him. At the anti-slavery meeting in London, in 1840—where they meet from all the civilized world in convention against slavery, (and from beyond the bounds of civilization they will come—the ambassadors of human liberty)—O'Connell will sure be there. He will speak—speak of America and the dregs of human slavery in her borders, and he will remember Henry Clay, and he will speak of him as the ADVOCATE OF SLAVERY. He will humble forever the Kentuckian's crest of pride. He will bereave him of his fame.'

From the Emancipator.

LETTERS FROM JAMAICA.

KINGSTON, Jan. 19th, 1839.

FRIEND JOSHUA LEAVITT:

Dear Sir,—Since my last nothing material has occurred in Jamaica. The people are generally now, quietly settled down on the plantations, making sugar, picking coffee and pimento, with nothing much more to disturb them, than the house and ground question, which is really a perplexing and vexatious one.

Rumors are afloat, from news received by the last packet (16th April,) that the charter of the island is to be taken away, and the government vested in an Executive Council. This plan, many even of the old planters approve of, as tending to allay the animosities and factions which now distract the country so much. For my part I think it would be better for the present, as the country is situated, to do so, for what true son of Jamaica would not rather be governed by the just and wise laws of Old England, than the laws made by slaveholders and old prejudiced Creoles, many of whom have scarcely the shadow of justice and equity. And is it possible that their old prejudices and malicious feelings engendered by the rebellion and the late amelioting acts of the mother country, should have entirely passed away after the 1st of August, 1838? Assuredly not, for their conduct and speeches in the House of Assembly show too plainly, that their feelings have undergone but little change. In fact I have heard that one member of that same valedictory and magnificent House of Assembly, about the 1st of August last, said, that if another rebellion were to break out, he would shoot every negro that crossed his path. In fact had it not been for the firmness and wisdom of the Governor, we should have been plunged into a most horrible civil war. The God of mercy prevented it otherwise. Let all the praise be given to Him.

Since I wrote you last the Colonial Reformer has ceased, which I suppose you have seen. It is decidedly the best conducted paper in the West Indies, in my opinion.

I suppose in all your pro-slavery papers, there is constantly appearing, 'extracts' from letters 'to a merchant in this city,' &c. &c., telling the most dolorous tales, and all one sided, about the laziness of the negroes, the violence of the 'Baptist Parsons,' the mismanagement of the colony, &c. And who do they come from? From the agents of your southern slaveholding lumber merchants, and flour and corn speculators, the very men who are making the most by the great changes in the West Indies. You will draw your own conclusion, Mr. Leavitt, without any further remarks from me.

The language which Mr Clay used in your house of Congress relating to slavery and the condition of the people of color in your country, has created for him an enviable fame either in the West Indies or England.

You would greatly oblige the people of color in the West Indies, if you would insert an advertisement in your paper, stating where they can procure comfortable and decent lodging places when they come to your northern cities. I can assure you it would be extremely annoying to me, to know that I was looked upon with contempt, by any of the 'pale faces' in United land.

I remain yours, with feelings of respect,

W. B. HOLDREDGE.

N. B. Request the advertisement to be inserted in all the liberal W. I. papers. W. B. H.

KINGSTON, Jamaica, 14th April, 1839.

ARTHUR TAPPAN, Esq.

President American A. S. Society.

Dear Sir,—I suppose that from the accounts you have heard of our island in the American papers, you would be strongly inclined to think that Jamaica was going to ruin as fast as a galloping consumption could carry her. But blessed be the God of mercy and truth, who has seen fit to disappoint not only the designs, but the forebodings of her enemies, and to bring her dry-shod over the Red Sea of her afflictions and distractions. The friends of freedom may well congratulate themselves on the good behavior of the emancipated, the peaceful and orderly conduct on the 1st of August, their readiness to labor for fair wages, and the general and increasing state of prosperity, happiness, peace and civilization in the Island.

I am happy to state to you now, that the properties are almost all at work and doing well, the negroes working cheerfully and obediently, where they are used fairly. The great contest now going on is about the house and ground question. This I hope will soon be settled to the satisfaction of all parties.

I hope that yourself and the other friends of the cause in the United States, will make some vigorous effort shortly, to consolidate and perfect a plan for the introduction of the articles of free labor, so as to make a market in the U. States, for British plantation coffee, sugar, pimento, preserves, &c. &c.

As I am acquainted with the business of the Island, I will suggest to you the outline of a plan I have conceived.

Let a regular line of the largest class of schooners be formed, consisting of not more than three or four. Let them be quick sailers, and fitted up with first rate accommodations, and have masters who are not only competent, but liberal-minded men. These schooners should always touch at Falmouth and Montego Bay, going and coming, to take in passengers and freight, and for bringing freight from the United States. The American business has been steadily on the increase for the last six months. Let New York be the port.

The charge for freight and passengers should be moderate. The present price by the Emily is $100: from $10 to $60 would pay well. Sufficient freight could always be had, I think, if not from Kingston, from Falmouth or Montego Bay, of logwood, coffee, sugar, (I hope no rum,) pimento, preserves, &c. &c.

This plan may perhaps suggest to you some new idea which may be of use at a future day. The exports to this must always be of American growth or manufacture. The best marketable articles are flour, corn meal, lumber, soft and hard, shoes, bricks, paper, some hats of all qualities, glass, white lead, garden seeds the best of drugs, confectionary, chemicals, such as calomel, &c. wooden ware, hard ware, religious books, (others pay heavy duties,) sperm oil and candles, some garden tools, horses, carriages, furniture; cheese, cane bottom, tobacco, cider, champaign, oatmeal, linseed, barley, tin ware, apples, potatoes, some navy bread and biscuits, ready made clothes, &c. &c. (Gun-powder and arms prohibited.)

I hope in the forthcoming anniversary of the Anti-Slavery Society, something good and substantial may be shown in favor of immediate emancipation. For further news consult the Jamaica papers sent to 143 Nassau st.

With much esteem and respect,
I remain, dear sir, your friend,
JAMES B. GRAHAM.

From the Emancipator.

NEW YORK, May 11, 1839.

Dear Br. Leavitt,—I left the city, whilst our 'Anti-Slavery meetings' were still in progress, to fulfil my engagement to attend a meeting in Newburgh. It was, according to the terms of the notice, 'An Anti-Slavery meeting for free discussion.' The notice invited the public, that Mr. Birney and I would attend. Mr. B. could not leave the city.

The first session of the meeting, which was yesterday afternoon, was undisturbed and pleasant. Some half dozen gentlemen participated in the discussion. The session that followed in the evening, was broken up by a mob. The mob continued round the house for nearly an hour—occasionally shouting and screaming, and throwing stones into it through the window. It became apparent, ere yet we had left the house, that I was the object of their vengeance. I am indebted, under God, for my escape from their close pursuit to the guidance and brotherly love of Professor Kingsley, of West Point, and Peter Roe, of New Windsor. I must not omit to mention the assistance rendered by my colored brother—nor the solicitude which Mr. Knevals, Mr. Lester, and Dr. Chapman manifested for my safety.

You will not be surprised to hear that there was a mob on this occasion, when I tell you, that the ministers of all the principal congregations in the village refused to read the notice of the meeting; and that no church could be obtained for it, except a small one, which is in the skirts of the village, and is destitute of a pastor.

It is worthy of mention, that, when the disturbance began, I was making an argument to show the inconsistency and sin of which those abolitionists are guilty who vote for slavery. The mob completed my argument better than I could have completed it; and also answered better than I could have done, the current questions: 'What has the North to do with slavery?'—'Why don't you go to the South?' The North will have to do with slavery, and the South will be a proper field for anti-slavery labor, at least as long as the North continues to abound in pro-slavery mobs.

In haste, yours,
GERRIT SMITH.

☞Our acknowledgements are due to the editor of the Emancipator for forwarding at our request a proof-sheet of the proceedings of the late annual meeting of the American A. S. Society, in order that we might be enabled to lay them before our readers the present week. We shall be glad to reciprocate the favor whenever it is in our power to do so.

JOSHUA LEAVITT. Our brother of the Lynn Record, in giving an account of the meetings of the American A. S. Society in New-York, represents the editor of the Emancipator as having betrayed a very bad spirit on that occasion. He must have mistaken his man. Mr. L. behaved in an honorable manner; and, instead of 'speaking much, too much,' said very little.

COMMUNICATIONS.

INTERESTING REPORTS.

FALL RIVER, 4th mo. 12, 1839.

FRIEND GARRISON:

Shouldst thou consider the publication of the following extracts from the reports of our committee for circulating petitions, in the Liberator, or Cradle of Liberty, as likely to do good, thou art at liberty to make any use of them which thou may think best.

By order of our Society.

Thy friend, E. B. CHACE.

One beautiful afternoon, with my petitions, Almanacs and pamphlets, I set forward, esteeming it a privilege to be permitted to plead the cause of the dumb; and during the afternoon, was cheered by the fact, that in the same places, I was generally greeted with more cordiality, than in any preceding year. The stereotyped excuse, 'I am a slave myself, and wish to be liberated myself first,' was less often urged, and in its place was substituted, 'I must find out what good it is going to do, before I give my name;' proving that the chains of mental and spiritual bondage of former years were beginning to melt away in the sunlight of truth and humanity.

I called upon one, whose children gain their support in our factories, and who, herself, seemed emphatically one who 'earned her bread by the sweat of her brow.' I asked her to sign my petition. 'Oh! yes,' said she, 'if *I am* a slave, I do not wish any of my fellow creatures to be. I will do all *I* can to free them.' Her daughter also cheerfully signed my petition, and they purchased some of my books. I regarded them with admiration and love; for I believed that they loved, not only the poor slave, but the God who has created, who pities, and who will release him. I asked of the mother, 'Are you a member of Mr. Bronson's church?' She said, 'I am.' The conversation which followed I will not repeat; but I must say, in justice to that faithful man, that, on several other occasions, when cheered with a like reception, I received like information. Oh! thought I, would that all those who profess to preach the gospel, would not shun to declare the whole truth; that when crying sins are abroad in our land, they would 'cry aloud, and spare not;' then would the people repent, and the sin of slavery even, might be driven from our soil.

On another occasion, on entering a room where many adults were present, I perceived that the lady whom I addressed, before replying, looked towards a man who was present, and seemed to say, 'Shall I give my name?' He at once decided the case by saying, 'No! I would have nothing to do with these Anti-Slavery folks; they are the same that make such a fuss about temperance; it's all one concern, these hot temperance folks and abolitionists.' This was a fact which I neither could nor wished to deny; and when asked if it were not true, I replied, 'I hope so; and I hope there are no abolitionists, who do not condemn, not only intemperance, but *sin* in every other form.' I did not have an opportunity to repeat my invitation; for my female companions without deigning to notice me further, left the room, leaving me to contend alone with their more loquacious partner.

But I will not multiply examples. We have no doubt all of us found, that those who, on every other occasion, treat us with respect and courtesy, feel licensed, when we are thus employed, to use language toward us, which must be termed very unkind, if not abusive; and we need much of the spirit of our blessed Master, in order to fortify us against such attacks.

From the report of another we extract the following:

In many cases, after finding our way through crooked and dark entries, up steep and winding stair-cases, after knocking at several doors before finding the right one, at last finding those of whom we came in search, and introducing ourselves in the usual manner, 'We called to inquire if there were any ladies here, who would like to sign a petition for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia;' we got our 'labor for our pains.' One lady had promised that she would never sign a petition; and, although she acknowledged that, after reading a story in a newspaper, of wanton cruelty towards a slave, she had become somewhat interested in the subject, yet she could not be made to feel that this promise was better broken than kept. Another lady thought the slaves quite as happy in their present situation as they could be in any other; that the stories told of their sufferings were often exaggerated; that they had plenty of food and clothing, were not whipped unless they deserved it, and were sure of a support in old age; and one would think from her remarks, that she considered the situation of the slave quite enviable. Yet this same lady acknowledged, when requested to apply the golden rule, that she could not find the man in our village, (though she herself might make the selection,) to whom she would be willing that her son should sustain the *fond relation* of a slave to a master. She would not, however, sign our petitions. How often are we reminded of the—'and if, and if, said the lawyer.' A third lady told me with a coldness and dignity of speech, and a glance of the eye which said, 'You are out of your sphere,' that she considered this altogether a political subject, and thought it would be exceedingly improper for her to interfere with men's business!

A fourth had weighed the subject well, and had come to the conclusion, that though slavery was an evil, and it was a pity that it should exist, it was not our duty in any way to interfere with the duties which belonged to the south. Of course, I explained to her the peculiar situation of the District of Columbia, but all to no effect; she seemed to be alarmed, lest we should bring war and blood-shed upon the country; and when cited to the parable of the good Samaritan, thought it doubtful whether *slaves* could be considered as neighbors!?

A fifth had a son who had been to the South, and who, of course, 'knew all about it,' and she should be glad to fare as well as they did, &c.

One man shut the door upon us, leaving us to find our way out as we could, in the dark, (for it was evening,) saying, if we were engaged in such business, we could find the way; and one woman told us we were engaged in the most ridiculous business she ever heard of; and rather than read one of our almanacs, she would commit it to the flames.

Another writes:

I requested the signature of an aged lady, who, as she took the pen with a trembling hand, said, 'The vile system of slavery ought to have been abolished long ago. I once lived in the midst of it.' Indeed, said I; perhaps you can give me some information on the subject. 'I can tell you it is an abomination of wickedness,' replied she. I have seen many vicissitudes in the course of my life. When I was young, my husband took me to live in one of the southern States; and on my first acquaintance with slavery, I was extremely disgusted with it. I could not bear to see my fellow-beings treated like beasts. My husband did not regard the subject as I did, and he bought several slaves. We both endeavored to treat them well, and they appeared happy with us; but I enjoyed not a moment's ease of conscience, after we became the professed owners of slaves. It did not satisfy me, that we treated them well, and they appeared happy. I felt that it was a sin to hold our fellow-beings in bondage; and I knew that their contentment proved their degradation. I was so unhappy, that my whole life was embittered, and I finally persuaded my husband to part with them.' Did he sell them? asked I, eagerly. 'O no,' said she, 'that would have been worse than to have kept them. They were very unwilling to leave us; but there was a plan devised, by which they could learn trades, and after that be free; and though they did not know the value of an occupation by which they could earn a living, nor the value of liberty, we knew they would afterwards appreciate them both.' On parting, I said to the old lady, if all concerned in slaves should be as faithful towards them as you have been, we need not long be circulating this petition; and as I left her door, I rejoiced that our New England woman had proved herself while in the southern States, worthy of her republican birth.

Again. I entered a room which appeared to be the abode of disease. The mother had long been its subject, and through its influence had become a cripple; the daughter, the moment I opened the door, was uttering an involuntary groan through excess of pain, and I hesitated to present the object of my visit, where it appeared so evident that all must be occupied with their own personal, immediate distress. Yet I should have reflected that a scene of suffering is far more favorable to the exercise of benevolence, than a scene of pleasure. Better present the case of the needy to them who are themselves suffering through disease or want, than to those who amidst the enjoyment of health and luxury are cherishing the selfish propensities of their nature. I presented the petition. 'I desire to do all I can for the slaves,' said the old lady; 'put down my name.' 'I should like to sign it,' said the young lady; 'but I am not able to write this evening; will you write it for me?' As I took the names, I remarked that I was happy to find them so willing to sign the petition. 'Ah,' answered the mother, 'that's but a trifle for us to do. I wish I could do something more for the poor creatures.' I mentioned the cent-a-week subscription. 'Well, I can do as much as that; you may take my name. I think it is our duty to feel for the needy and distressed every where. How thankful should we be that God has placed us in better circumstances. How much we might do for those that are suffering, if we were always trying to think how we might help them.' Since that evening, I have looked upon that afflicted family as one of the happiest in our village.

Another pleasant call was on an English family. As I stated the object of the petition, the gentleman answered, 'Certainly, I always sign all such things.' When I told him it was for ladies only, he answered, 'The gentlemen will send one too, I hope; and then turning to his wife, asked if he should write her name. I remarked that I was almost sure to obtain the signatures of his country women. 'I rejoice to hear it,' said he. 'I hope we do not forsake the cause of emancipation when we cross the Atlantic. I have signed many a petition in my own country.' Then you have long been an abolitionist, said I. 'Ever since I was eight years old,' said he. 'At that age, I was one day walking with my mother in the streets of London, and we met a miserable beggar. He was a negro; and was the first colored person I had ever seen. He had lost both his arms, and around his neck was suspended a charity bag, into which my mother directed me to drop the penny she gave me; and as I again took her hand, and walked forward, she told me the story of the poor cripple who had been a slave in the West Indies, and gave me such an idea of slavery, as made an indelible impression on my mind. The appearance of the poor colored man, and the representation which my mother made, fixed in my mind a just abhorrence of the whole system of slavery.

Doubtless all will make the objection which very naturally came to my mind. How much can mothers do towards establishing right principles in their children's minds!

Yet, although our reception often might lead us to exclaim, 'There is no flesh in man's obdurate heart—it does not feel for man,' we found many ready and willing, nay, glad to add their names to the list of those who ask the deliverance of the captive.

One gentleman said, as we presented the petitions to his wife, 'Oh, yes, you will sign that, for the slaves you know, and then, turning to us, 'Persevere, ladies,' 'You are engaged in a righteous cause, one in which your labors will be rewarded, if not on earth, in heaven. I believe that, with the blessing of God, the women must yet be the means of the abolition of slavery in the United States. Men are turning aside from the great object, to engage in political wranglings; the women must stand at the helm.'

We found that foreigners were generally more willing to sign our petitions than our own country women, and that they were better informed on the subject. There was, however, one exception to this rule. We called on an Irish family, and requested the woman's name. 'No,' said the man, 'we wish to be liberated ourselves first; wait till you treat us as you ought, before you ask us to help you about the negroes.' Ah, though I, you are more than half right. I had often heard this excuse from the lips of factory girls; but it came with little force from them, for they choose their situation voluntarily, and for the sake of the money. But, it appears to me, that our countrymen, from the aged man down to the little child, are disposed to treat the Irish as an inferior people; and the appellation of Paddy is next to that of Nigger. It may be thought digression, but I must speak a few words in behalf of my friends, the Irish. They are poor—so are numbers of Americans. They are foreigners—so are the English and Scotch. They are Roman Catholics. What of that? Are not numbers around us, of our own countrymen, infidels and atheists? That is the very reason why we should treat them with the utmost kindness, and endeavor, by our example, to show them 'a more excellent way.' It is said that by oppression and poverty, they have become degraded, and their intellect cramped; that they are not equal to other nations. I verily believe this to be false, inasmuch as I know, and I think every district school-teacher in the village will agree with me in this, that, as a general thing, the Irish children manifest a decided superiority in learning, to our own country children. And shall we oppress O'Connell's countrymen, because they have already been oppressed.' Let others do as they will; may we my sisters, regard the rights of all as equal.

In circulating petitions, I was struck with the thought that selfishness is the miasma, whose withering influence prevents a healthy feeling and corresponding action on the subject of slavery. There is a disposition in the human breast, when we are in prosperity, to forget those in adversity; and when we are in adversity, to be swallowed up in our own sorrows. Let us pray that this root may be extracted from our own bosoms, and that the grace of God may lead others to do as they would be done by. May the Savior never say to us, that we have seen *him*, in the person of the slave, suffering, sick, and in prison, and have not ministered unto him.

ANTI-SLAVERY LIBRARIES.

The friends of the slave in this Commonwealth should make every possible effort to establish a library in every town and parish throughout the State. This should be done by the mites of the many, and not by the dollars of the few, unless by way of advance, to be repaid by the multitude. It should be stock in which every man, woman and child should have an investment. 'Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also,' was the declaration of Him who spake as never man spake, and that principle of our nature is as active now as in the days of our Saviour. All will be anxious to read their money's worth. Besides, the going from house to house, soliciting five, ten, twenty or fifty cents, for this specific object, will bring the subject before the minds of many, who otherwise would have no information of such an enterprise. By this means, many children, whose parents are wholly uninterested upon the subject of human rights, will be induced to read, merely to gratify their curiosity;—soon they will become interested. The facts which they learn will be brought before the minds of their parents, who cannot resist them as they would the lecturer. Let the abolitionists, in this respect, do their duty, and the cause will receive new strength.

Many professed friends of the slave are not as well acquainted with the rise and progress of the abolition cause in this country as their circumstances will permit. The duty they owe the slave demands them to examine such works as Right and Wrong in Boston, Nos. 1, 2 and 3, and also the Annual Reports of the Am. and Mass. Societies.

Many know comparatively little of the cruelty and wickedness of the system they are opposing, and hence are poorly prepared to meet an opponent in the house or by the way, who affirms that the slaves are happier, better treated, fed and clothed than the free laborers of the north. Let such make themselves familiar with 'Liberty,' 'Negro Pew,' 'Rankin's Letters,' 'Bourne's Picture of Slavery,' and that admirable work, 'Slavery as it is, or the testimony of a thousand witnesses,' just published, and from the pen of Theodore D. Weld.

Every abolitionist should be fully prepared to show what the north has to do with slavery, when the question is proposed. To be able to do this, it is essential to be familiar with such works as Weld's 'Power of Congress,' Stanton's 'Remarks,' Prest. Green's 'Sermon,' and that excellent book from the pen of Mr. Jay, entitled, '*A view of the action of the Federal Government in behalf of slavery.*'

An intimate acquaintance with Weld's 'Bible Argument,' Prest. Green on the 'Chattel Principle,' and 'The Testimony of God against Slavery,' must satisfy every candid mind, that the scriptures give no quarters to American slaveholders and their abettors.

Let the delegates to the New England A. S. Convention come prepared to purchase libraries for their towns. C.

BOSTON.

FRIDAY, MAY 24, 1839.

SCENE ON BOARD OF A STEAM-BOAT.

The business meetings of the American Anti-Slavery Society closed in New York on the 10th instant, at 4 o'clock, P. M. The eastern steam-boats were to leave that afternoon, at 5 o'clock, as usual—the Narragansett for Stonington, and the Massachusetts for Providence: of course, the delegates from the east, who were anxious to reach home before the Ssbbath, had but an hour in which to snatch a hasty meal, (for there was no adjournment for dinner that day,) settle accounts with their landlords, pack up their wardrobe, and find their way to the Battery. As immediatism is the doctrine of abolitionists, the bustle and despatch exhibited, on this occasion, showed that they well understood how to make it a practical affair. Let those who know not whether they are bound east, west, north or south—who have no particular object in view, and never mean to accomplish any thing, except the indulgence of their own laziness or imbecility—who are morally incapacitated to discern between right and wrong, good and evil, liberty and despotism—let all such wander, if they will, in the labyrinths of gradualism, to their heart's content. They who know what they are about, where they belong, what they can and ought to achieve, and that the turn-pike road of duty is incomparably better than the ensnaring by-paths of expediency, will ever 'go ahead' in good earnest, so that neither tide nor time shall find them 'just half a minute too late.'

When two such fine steam-boats as the Narragansett and Massachusetts are challenging the admiration and preference of a thronging multitude, homeward-bound,—the former promising to save time at a slight expense of sleep, and the latter holding out the inducement of a night of unbroken rest to the end of the route,—it is to be expected that tastes will differ; and it so turned out on the part of the returning delegates. There was a fresh division among our abolition friends at the steam-boat landing—(*aside*—just observe how the enemies of emancipation prick up their ears on this announcement of a new outbreak in our ranks!)—some chose one boat, and some the other, without any reference to the fact, whether they were all agreed as to the 'religious duty' of every voter to go to the polls, or as to the true character of human government! A majority decided to go by the way of Stonington—among them our non-resistant brother H. C. Wright, and our belligerous friend Orange Scott, between whom, we understand, an amicable discussion was held in the presence of the passengers, (Francis Jackson, of Boston, in the chair,) on the subject of non-resistance, until bed-time, when it was unanimously decided that, whether it was right to slay a brother at any time, or not, it was certainly not expedient to 'murder sleep' on that occasion.

Not having the fear of Point Judith before our eyes, and not perceiving the advantage of losing two hours sleep in the night in order to save that amount of time during the day, we made choice of the Massachusetts, for a direct passage to Providence. We found on board a very large company, including several of our anti-slavery friends, among whom was our bro. Elizur Wright, jr. who was on his way to take charge of the Abolitionist—a paper which is to please every body who is displeased with us, and enable our clerical brother in Salem, (C. T. T.) Corresponding Secretary of the Essex County A. S. Society, to inform all the members of that association of the time of its regular meetings! The time has been when our bro. W. would sooner have consented to pluck out a right eye, or cut off a right hand, than to edit a journal got up in rank hostility to the Liberator. How long, or to what extent, he will suffer himself to be made the tool of a factious, sectarian body of men, time must determine. That, in the end, they will find that, in securing his services, they have 'caught a Tartar,' we have very little doubt. He is an able, ready and caustic writer and will not spare any political dough-face or clerical dumb dog in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, or elsewhere. However widely we may differ in time to come, nothing can ever occur to lessen our admiration of the zeal, the talent, the self-sacrificing spirit, the generous daring, he has exhibited in the anti-slavery cause from a very early period.

After tea, we had an animated conversation with our old friend, (though neither of us is *very* old,) till after 10 o'clock, when we retired to our berth, and slept soundly until the next morning—the boat having touched at Newport before we rose. As soon as we got on deck, we observed that a warm discussion appeared to be going on among a group of passengers; and, deeming it probable that abolition was the question under consideration, we approached to listen to the arguments, pro and con. We found our esteemed friend Buffum, the proprietor of the Lynn Record, to be 'the great agitator' of the excited group. A shocking discovery had been made, in the course of the night or morning, which seemed to horrify sundry individuals from the South as well as others, and in which Mr. Buffum was directly implicated as a daring transgressor against the rules of propriety, and the laws of caste. The story is soon told, episodical remarks aside. Among the passengers in the ladies' cabin, were three highly intelligent, much respected, pious colored ladies, (two of them residents of Boston, the other of Salem,) who were returning home from the Convention of American Women recently held in Philadelphia, which they had attended in the capacity of delegates or members. Of the three, only one was darkly tinged in complexion—the others could hardly be distinguished from those whose silly boast it is, to have a delicate white skin. They had found no difficulty in going to New-York, and were led to hope that they might be permitted to return, without having their feelings wounded, and their Creator reproached, by the slang of low and vulgar minds respecting their color. To those who know them, it is needless to speak of their moral worth and excellent deportment. When we say that Mrs. Schuyler Lawrence, of Salem, was one of the number, the respectable inhabitants of that city will bear witness that, in strength of mind, nobleness of character, and native dignity of carriage, she has very few superiors among the white population. They are all ornaments to society, and worthy to be admitted into any circle, however refined or intelligent. They had taken their passage on board of the Massachusetts, without any concert either with each other, or with any abolitionist. Observing Mr. Buffum to be among the passengers, and knowing his friendly disposition, they requested him to pay their fare, at the usual rate. He did so, with all cheerfulness and gentlemanly politeness, and thought no more of the matter. Early the next morning, he was summoned to go to the captain's office. On doing so, the clerk wished to know if he had not a colored servant in the ladies' cabin? 'No.' 'Has not your wife?' 'No.' 'Did you pay the passage for a colored woman?' 'Yes, I paid for three. Is any thing the matter?' 'Nothing the matter, sir.' 'But why am I called upon, then?' 'You ought to have told me they were colored people. Had you done so, they would not have been permitted to lodge in the ladies' cabin'—&c. &c. Mr. Buffum very properly demanded to see the rules of the boat, which excluded such females. As none such could be produced, he contended that he was under no obligation to designate the height, or bulk, or complexion, of any persons who might wish him to procure tickets for them. No doubt, the only reason why no such disgraceful enactment is to be found among the printed rules which are conspicuously printed for the guidance of passengers, is, that, in banishing from the ladies' cabin those colored females who are neither servants nor slaves, it would be necessary to exclude the latter class also: and then, what an uproar would ensue on the part of the northern and southern aristocracy! 'What! dare to drive out of the cabin, my slave, or my servant! Then they will drive out me, at the same time!' would be the indignant language of every one of them. To have a rule like the following, would be too odious even for the present odious state of public sentiment:—'No colored woman, who is not a slave or menial, is allowed to occupy a place in the ladies' cabin.' It would be, avowedly, a premium upon degradation—the proscription of independence—a preference of the company of the ignorant and servile to that of the educated and free. It would prove, conclusively, that the reason of expulsion had nothing to do with the color of the skin, but with the *condition* of the female traveller; and that the more grovelling that condition, the higher would be the claim to kind and civil treatment! Nay, this monstrous distinction was practically exhibited on this occasion. If Mr. Buffum had only consented to lie roundly, by affirming that the colored ladies, for whose passage he had paid, were travelling in the capacity of servants, there would have been no disturbance whatever! It was evidently the desire of Capt. Comstock to have him escape through such a despicable subterfuge; but Mr. Buffum had too high a regard for truth, and too much manliness of character, to be guilty of such a *ruse*. He behaved, throughout the stormy scene, with great firmness and admirable self possession, though some of the *gentlemanly* ruffians threatened to throw him overboard! Capt. Comstock, we are told by one of the passengers, declared that he should not care if every abolitionist on board met with such a fate. A company of them had once before given him much trouble, and he had to interpose to prevent their being whipped; but he would not interfere again to protect them from violence! Indeed, he appeared to be the sole cause of the difficulty. Had he said and done nothing, every thing would have passed off quietly. No complaint, as far as we can learn, was made by any of the ladies in the cabin. To show the folly of such an outburst of passion as was exhibited by some on board, it need only be stated that colored servants were employed in both cabins; but not one even among the most fastidious, in their affected dislike of a colored skin, had the surface of their tranquillity ruffled in the presence of *these* 'niggers.'

The discussion among the passengers became general, and somewhat boisterous. It was worth a great deal more to the cause of humanity, than the owners of the Massachusetts made by that trip. Nothing could be more striking than the contrast displayed between those who denounced, and those who justified, the conduct of Mr. Buffum, in gentlemanly demeanor and style of address. The former were abusive, passionate, 'full of sound and fury.' The latter were argumentative, respectful, and faithful in the application of truth to the conscience; and doltish indeed must they have been, having truth, reason, humanity, justice, on their side, not to have succeeded in covering their antagonists with shame and confusion of face. It was dippantly pleaded, that, though these colored ladies were not excluded from the cabin by the printed rules of the boat, yet the usages of society were against admitting them to equal rights and privileges. To this it was replied, that degrading and inhuman usages, like criminal promises, were 'more honored in the breach than in the observance;' that no honorable man would take advantage of them to perform a dastardly act; that if they could tolerate the presence of a slave, they must be made to endure the proximity of a freeman; that the only way to subvert bad customs is to testify against them, and establish better ones; that a steam-boat, like a hotel, is chartered to accommodate the travelling public; that every traveller has a right to expect fair and equal treatment, so long as he conducts in an orderly manner, and pays the amount of fare required; that an action would lie in court against the owners of the Massachusetts, in case of the expulsion of these ladies from the cabin; and that it was cool effrontery to pretend, that the complexion of the skin was the real source of offence, in this case, when no objection was felt to the colored servants in the boat.

In the midst of the hubbub, Capt. Comstock requested all the passengers to descend into the cabin, and decide by a vote whether Mr. Buffum had acted in a proper manner. 'Mr. Garrison,' said he to us, 'will you go below with your party?' 'We have no party,' was our reply; 'but we will most cheerfully go below.' Martin Stoddard, of Providence, was called to the chair. It was contended that the ladies ought to be present also; and there was some delay, in consequence. Two or three only were present, on account of the difficulty of getting through the crowd. We first got the floor. 'Mr. Chairman,' said we, 'as this is a grave question, upon which the passengers are requested to vote, it is, of course, debateable. We desire to say a few words upon it, before the vote is taken.' 'Gentlemen, Mr. Garrison has the floor. Will you listen to his remarks?' 'No! no! we don't want to hear him! no discussion! it is an exciting subject! let us have the question!' was vociferated by sundry brave and chivalric *gentlemen*. Finding that the gag-law was to be enforced, we seconded a motion to have the question taken by ayes and noes, that it might be known who took sides against the women, and where they belonged. This motion excited much consternation, and was not allowed to be put. The wicked ever shun the light, and howl in agony at the thought of being identified. 'Gentlemen,' said the chairman, 'all you who consider Mr. Buffum to have acted an honorable part, will say Ay!' A strong response in the affirmative was heard. 'Gentlemen, you who think that these colored ladies were put into the ladies' cabin in a clandestine and improper manner by Mr. Buffum, &c. &c. will manifest it!' The vote appeared to be so equal, that the passengers were requested to divide to the right and left, until they could be counted. Tellers were appointed, and the result was declared to be, 23 in approval of the conduct of Mr. Buffum, and 75 in condemnation of it. But, such was the confusion, it was impossible to ascertain, with any degree of certainty, how the vote stood; especially as the tellers were committed on the wrong side. As soon as the vote was announced, cheers were given by the negro-haters, as though a great and glorious victory had been obtained, worthy to be celebrated through all time! Thus ended this very ridiculous farce,—the boat being within a short distance of Providence. If majorities are henceforth to determine, who shall or shall not be decently accommodated in travelling from Providence to New-York, there are many who would like to know it, that they may govern themselves accordingly.

The manner in which the persecuted ladies bore the insults thus publicly offered to them, was truly praiseworthy. Not a reproachful word escaped from their lips—they uttered no complaints, but looked down with pity on their degraded assailants. The petition which they spontaneously put up was—'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do!'

N. B. An account of this scandalous outrage, from the Boston Courier, evidently written by one of the low participants in it, will be found on our first page, in its appropriate place, the 'Refuse of Oppression.' It is copied into the Lowell Journal, with the following sarcastic and cutting introduction by the editor:

AWFUL. It is not often that we are called upon to record events of a character so horrible as the following. The only account of it which has yet reached us, is contained in the Boston Courier of yesterday morning. It is probable that extras of the Boston and New York papers will bring us further particulars of this most unparalleled and atrocious outrage! It is beyond all endurance that the free citizens of this great republic should be subject to such humiliating and disgraceful outrage and imposition, even on the leading thoroughfares between our principal cities. We hope for the honor of our countrymen and country-women, that they will determine with the spirit of our fathers and mothers of '76, never again to travel in any Steam Boat, where they will be exposed to such indignity. As Mr. Adams said, it is 'terrible—very terrible.'

NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

This important Convention will meet in this city on Tuesday next. Let not any true-hearted abolitionist be weary in well doing. True, it costs both time and money to attend the various great anti-slavery meetings; but then it is time and money well spent. The more we sacrifice in the cause of humanity, the more precious will that cause appear in our eyes. Let there be a rallying of the bone and muscle of anti-slavery, next week, from every nook and corner in New-England. It may sound trite and common-place to remind our readers, that the present is a deeply interesting and solemn crisis in the abolition cause; but it is certain that never have clearness of vision, watchfulness of spirit, and decision of conduct, been more needed in our ranks, than at the present time. Up to the present hour, the assaults of open foes and of treacherous friends have been foiled on the right hand and on the left. God grant that every fresh attack may be equally impotent! Let our working-men, our mechanics, our farmers, see to it that the management of our glorious enterprise is not suffered to fall into the hands of titled divines and aspiring politicians. Let them be vigilant and faithful, and all will be well.

We earnestly hope that the vexed question, whether anti-slavery women shall be allowed to participate in the proceedings of the Convention, will not consume one hour of the time of the meeting. It was settled in the affirmative, last year, by a very large majority, and has recently been by the Parent Society. Should any person be disposed to contest their right, let the question be taken without debate; for a three days' discussion would not be likely to change a single vote, pro or con—and the time of the Convention can be more profitably employed. It is not to be supposed, that female delegates will not be acknowledged as such by the meeting. It is too late in the day to hinder them from acting in their 'appropriate sphere.'

We hear it rumored, that an attempt will be made, next week, to get up a new organization. Faction is busily at work to effect such a division, aided by the chief priests, and scribes, and pharisees. It will be a motley combination, at best.

'SLAVERY AS IT IS.' A large portion of our first page is occupied with one of the dreadful narratives of slaveholding barbarity, duly authenticated, which our gifted brother Weld has brought together in his new work. His book is truly a book of horrors; and its statements, facts and arguments are sustained by a cloud of witnesses, whose testimony cannot be controverted. The man who, after reading it, can ever again venture to apologize for slaveholders, or to doubt or deny the charges hitherto made against them by abolitionists—or can suffer his sensibilities to slumber until slavery be destroyed—must certainly have 'no flesh in his obdurate heart,' but be 'fit for treason, stratagems, and spoils.' We hope it will prove instructive to the Rev. Dr. Channing, who has been led to regard the slaveholder 'very much as an *abstraction*,' and to pronounce some eulogies upon the bloody South which a myriad of facts proves to be wholly unmerited. The labor of preparing such a work as Mr. Weld's, can scarcely be realized; and the rare ability and extraordinary fidelity with which he has performed the mighty task assigned to him, must awaken the admiration and elicit the thanks of every friend of bleeding humanity.

'STRAWS SHOW,' &c. A letter, remarkable for its impertinence, its contemptuous spirit, and its gross attempt at caricature, professing to give an account of the proceedings of the American Anti-Slavery Society, at its late meetings in New-York, will be found in the REFUGE OF OPPRESSION, copied from the Christian Mirror, that looking-glass of holy cant and pharisaical stolidity. The writer, it will be seen, is in raptures with the Colonization Society, and finds it difficult to relieve his vulgar mind of its contempt and blackguardism as cherished for woman. It must be very consoling to our bros. Phelps, Scott, Allen, &c. to be eulogized by such a person for their conduct at New-York. 'Lord, what have I done, that the wicked praise me?' was the inquiry of a good man, on a certain occasion. Brethren, can you tell us how it happens, that all that is corrupt, all that is pro-slavery, in New England, admires your recent movements, and bids you God speed in every attempt to divide the anti-slavery organization?

☞The attack upon our course, in the last Zion's Watchman, by its editor, will receive our attention hereafter.

NOTICES.

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The New England Anti-Slavery Convention will meet on TUESDAY next, at 10 o'clock, A. M., in Chardon Street Chapel. A full and punctual attendance is requested. The delegates are requested to register their names at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 25 Cornhill, immediately on their arrival in the city.

WENDELL PHILLIPS,
OLIVER JOHNSON,
J. A. COLLINS,
} Committee of Arrangements.

☞The entrance to Chardon Street is on the North side of Bowdoin square, a few steps east of Pitts Street.

FAIR FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE SAMARITAN ASYLUM.

The Ladies of the Samaritan Asylum for the benefit of indigent colored children, intend holding a Fair to increase the funds of their treasury, on Tuesday and Wednesday of the coming week, at Hall, No. 4, Marlboro' Chapel. All who are interested in the

LITERARY.

For the Liberator.

LINES,

On seeing a Contribution Box passed round at an Anti-Slavery lecture.

Go, ask of him whose furrowed brow,
Deep sunken eye, and hoary locks,
Bespeak his years; he'll sure bestow
The needful cash to fill the box.

What! do ye to him turn in vain?
Loves he so much his sordid gold,
When e'en his days are numbered now,
And he no lease on life can hold?

Then turn to him, whose noble mien
Bespeaks a generous heart;
His deeds of kindness well are known—
He'll ample aid impart.

But now his purse is closed—and why?
O, tell it in an under tone!
He has no sympathy for those,
Who have a skin unlike his own.

The bright-eyed boy that by him sits,
With countenance so bland,
Doth marvel, that no ready change
Falls freely from his hand.

He wond'ring looks into his face,
While he his reason gives;
Well-timed excuse—quite to the point—
Hush! your *uncle*, boy, *keeps slaves!*

Pass it to him, whose manly form
Has scarce from boyhood sprung;
Whose heart with life's fresh feelings warm,
With fervent hope beats strong.

Away with your box! for not one cent
Of my money will I give,
Those prating fools* to help maintain,
Who on our hard-earned wages live.

In woman's heart more kindness dwells,
She'll not refuse to give you aid;
Of her you will not ask in vain,
Her well fill'd purse will not be stayed.

Go first to her, whose form is bent
Beneath the weight of years;
Pale is her deeply furrowed cheek,—
And now she's moved to tears.

What! turns she from the proffered box,
While her heart's with anguish torn?
But 'tis not for the *slave* she weeps—
She thinks of her eldest born:

Of him, who, 'neath a southern sun,
Has a princely fortune made:
Oh, why should northern men oppose
His profitable trade?

But do not let your courage fail;
Yonder's one with sparkling eye,
And brow most exquisitely fair—
She'll not let the box pass by.

Yes, even *her* lip curls with scorn—
She gazes on her snowy hand;
Can she a dark-hued sister own?
No! send them off to Afric's land!

Why pass ye by that pensive one?
D'ye think her heart is callous too?
But slight her not—do your part well—
To the holy cause be true.

See you not that her hand is raised?
She no dross of earth holds tight—
Her hope's beyond the pale of time;
A cheerful gift 's 'the *widow's mite*.'

* Anti-Slavery lecturers.

From the Knickerbocker for April.

THE HAPPY HOME.

I love the hearth where evening brings
Her loved ones from their daily tasks,
Where virtue spreads her spotless wings,
And vice, foul serpent, never basks;
Where sweetly rings upon the ear
The blooming daughter's gentle song,
Like heavenly music whisper'd near,
While thrilling hearts the notes prolong.

For there the father sits in joy,
And there the cheerful mother smiles,
And there the laughter-loving boy,
With sportive tricks the eye beguiles;
And love, beyond what worldlings know,
Like sunlight on the purest foam,
Descends, and with its cheering glow
Lights up the Christian's happy home.

Contentment spreads her holy calm
Around her resting place so bright,
And gloomy sorrow finds a balm,
In gazing at so fair a sight;
The world's cold selfishness departs,
And discord rears its front no more,
There pity's pearly tear-drop starts,
And charity attends the door.

No biting scandal, fresh from hell,
Grates on the ear, or scalds the tongue;
There kind remembrance loves to dwell,
And virtue's meed is sweetly sung;
And human nature soars on high,
Where heavenly spirits love to roam,
And vice, as stalks it rudely by,
Admires the Christian's happy home.

Oft have I join'd the lovely ones,
Around the bright and cheerful hearth,
With father, mother, daughters, sons,
The brightest jewels of the earth;
And while the world grew dark around,
And fashion call'd her senseless throng,
I've fancied it was holy ground,
And that fair girl's a seraph's song.

And swift as circles fade away,
Upon the bosom of the deep,
When pebbles toss'd by boys at play
Disturb its still and glassy sleep,
The hours have sped in pure delight,
And wand'ring feet forgot to roam,
While waved the banners of the night
Above the Christian's happy home.

The rose that blooms in Sharon's vale,
And scents the purple morning's breath,
May in the shades of evening fail,
And bend its crimson head in death;
And earth's bright ones amid the tomb
May like the blushing rose decay;
But still the mind, the mind shall bloom,
When time and nature fade away.

And there, amid a holier sphere,
Where the archangel bows in awe,
Where sits the King of Glory near,
To execute his perfect law,
The ransom'd of the earth, with joy
Shall in their robes of beauty come,
And find a rest without alloy,
Amid the Christian's happy home.

THE SUNSHINE OF THE HEART.

The sunshine of the heart be mine,
Which beams a charm around;
Where'er it sheds its ray divine
Is all enchanted ground!
No fiend of care
May enter there,
Though fate employ her art:
Her darkest powers all bow to thine,
Bright sunshine of the heart!

Beneath the splendor of thy ray
How lovely all is made;
Bright fountains in the desert play,
And palm-trees cast their shade;
Thy morning light
Is rosy bright,
And when thy beams depart,
Still glows with charms thy latest ray,
Sweet sunshine of the heart!

NON-RESISTANCE.

TO ORANGE SCOTT.—NON-RESISTANCE.

Philadelphia, April 18, 1839.

My Dear Brother—

'The Lord is our Lawgiver: the Lord is our Judge: the Lord is our King: He will save us.' We are taught to pray to him—'Thy kingdom come;' to ascribe to him 'the honor, the glory, the power, and dominion.' We are assured that Christ will 'put down all rule, and all authority and power,'—i. e. will abolish or abrogate all *human* governments, as in themselves irreconcileably hostile to that government which he came to establish—the empire of Jehovah over the human heart.

The non-resistants say, as all human governments are enforced at the point of the bayonet, and are based on the death-dealing principle, 'we cannot hold any office which imposes upon its incumbent the obligation to compel men to do right on pain of imprisonment or death. *Therefore*, we voluntarily exclude ourselves from every legislative and judicial body; and repudiate all human politics, worldly honors, and stations of authority. We cannot elect others to do that which it is morally wrong for us to do.' 'We cannot acknowledge allegiance to any *human* government. We recognize but one King and Lawgiver, one Judge and Ruler of mankind.' 'We purpose, in a moral and spiritual sense, to speak and act boldly in the cause of God; to assail iniquity, in high places and in low places; to apply our principles to all existing civil, political, legal and ecclesiastical institutions; and to hasten the time when the kingdoms of this world will have become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ.' Referring to these passages in the Declaration of Sentiments of the Peace Convention, you say in a communication, in the Herald of Freedom—'Dignify such principles with the name of '*peace*,' or '*non-resistance*,' if you please; *they are abhorrent to my soul*. I can almost say, *I hate them with a perfect hatred*.'

Human government, or the government or dominion of man over man, is the point at issue. You take the ground that 'human government is agreeable to the will of God.' This you seem to regard as a self-evident truth. What is meant by *government?* Two things are essential in all government. (1) The right to prescribe the *law*, or *rule* of action. (2) The right to punish violations of that rule. As defined by Locke, a governing power includes—'A right of making laws with penalties of death,' and by Blackstone—'there is and must be a supreme, irresistible, absolute, uncontrolled authority.' Thus a *legislative* power, or power to prescribe the rule of action; and a *penal* or *avenging* power—a power to say what penalty, in kind and degree, shall be adjudged to each offence, and power to execute the penalty—are essential to the existence of government. Human government invests man with this governing power over man. Divine government invests the Deity with it. Human-government men do not deny this power to the Deity, but say—He has invested man with this governing power or dominion over man. No-human-government men, as you term non-resistants, (and for one, I have no objection to the term, provided it is allowed to carry the idea that we are no-*human*-government men, because we are *divine*-government men,) say that men are not and never were invested with this governing power or dominion over men. *Divine*-government men—or, as you term us, no-human-government men, believe that no being in the universe *is* or *ever was*, invested with this tremendous power over men, but He to whom 'belong the power and dominion, and whose kingdom ruleth over all.' Non-resistants say, 'The Lord God Omnipotent reigneth.' They repudiate those *human* politics, which inculcate the slaveholding, atheistical doctrine, that men may organize into social bodies, called states or nations, for the purpose of establishing the authority and dominion of man over man.

Do you believe that the above is a correct definition of *human* government? Do you believe that a social organization that invests man with this governing power over man, and which aims to establish the empire or dominion of man over man—'is agreeable to the will of God?' Non-resistants—or the no-human-government men, as you call them, believe that *human* government, as commonly understood—a government investing man with a legislative and an avenging power over man—a government, whose execution depends on whips, chains, prisons, fetters, gallows, guns and swords, as all human governments do, is but another name for anarchy and murder. They believe that men must live in society—have a perfect right to form state or national societies or organizations—to associate and act together—but only for Christian objects and on Christian principles. We ought to organize to bring all men under the government of Jehovah, and to establish his dominion over the hearts of men. But do you say we ought to organize to establish, strengthen and perpetuate the authority and dominion of man over man? To extend the empire of man over the bodies and souls of men? You do say this, whether you intend it or not, when you say we ought to associate to establish *human* government.

Do you refer us to the Jewish code? We answer, that code does not invest man with any governing power over man. *Jehovah* said what violations of that rule were to be punished. *Jehovah* adjusted the penalty to each offence—in kind and degree. *Jehovah* executed the penalty. Man, so far as he had any thing to do, was a mere agent and instrument in his hand. The *governing* power was all in the hand of Deity. Do you refer us to Romans 13: 1—7. 'Let every soul be subject,' &c. You do not show that this passage gives to man a governing power over man—that it authorizes men to prescribe the rule of action to themselves or others, and to punish violations of that rule—or that it is addressed to magistrates or rulers at all. We show that the passage is addressed to Christians, and that the *only* duty inculcated on them is—not that they must aid in forming and sustaining a *human* government by voting at the polls, or by holding offices in it, but submission or non-resistance to the powers that be. Do you tell us we ought to obey *human* government? We refer to our Constitution and answer—'All who have the spirit of Christ will *obey* the powers that be, except when they bid them violate their consciences—and then, rather than resist, they will meekly submit to the penalty of disobedience.'

But you say to us—'You will not acknowledge allegiance to human government?' Will *you?* Yes, you say—'the principle that forbids it is abhorrent to my soul—I hate it with a perfect hatred.' So you swear allegiance to your *human* government. You acknowledge, (1) the right of men, organized into a state or national organization, to prescribe to you the rule of action, and your obligation and determination to abide by the rule which they shall prescribe; and (2) that you will support that human government in the way designated in the Constitution, i. e. by swords and guns, by 'killing, slaying and destroying,' its enemies. Do you believe the *will of God* is your only rule of action? Yes. Do you claim the right to judge for yourself what is and what is not obedience to the Divine will? Yes. The fifteen millions of human beings, composing this nation, come to you and say—'It is *our* will that you should not plead the cause of the slave.' I cannot obey you. 'But our will is the rule of action—or the governing principle, in that *human* government to which you have sworn allegiance.' No matter. I never meant to acknowledge allegiance to your will. The will of God is my *governing* principle, and that tells me to speak for the slave. 'But we deny it.' No matter, I must be my own judge. What becomes of your allegiance to *human* government? It amounts to this—you will follow your *human* government just so far as you deem it right, and no farther. Now we acknowledge allegiance to the King of kings. Having done this—we have acknowledged allegiance to all that is right, and believe it to be treason against God, to acknowledge allegiance to any other being in the universe.

Man was made to be governed, and not to govern. To be under the government and dominion of God, and not of his fellow man. Not to subject man to the will of man, and to establish, extend and perpetuate the empire of man over man, of brother over brother—but to establish, enlarge, extend and perpetuate to all eternity the empire of Jehovah over man. Non-resistants do join issue with you here. The very idea of human government savors of treason against God. Slavery, anarchy and murder, are its necessary concomitants. All attempts of men to *govern* men, as commonly understood, have ended and must necessarily end in disorder, anarchy and blood. There is but one *government*. But 'one Lawgiver, one King, one Judge and one Ruler of mankind;' Jehovah, 'King of kings, and Lord of lords.' All attempts to extend over this world the dominion of any other, must plunge society into irretrievable degradation and ruin, and end in infidelity and atheism.

Dear Brother—Of me, personally, you say in your communication in the Herald of Freedom—'It is true, friend Garrison has been supported, and perhaps led on, by one H. C. Wright; but I have no disposition to notice him, his influence is next to nothing. He may go against all governments, both human and divine, and the world will not be much the better or worse for it.' You are right in *matter*, if not in spirit and manner. My influence ought to be not only '*next* to nothing,' but altogether nothing; and I am not worthy, and ought not to wish to be noticed by you or any one. I wish I had been too childlike, too inoffensive, too obscure, unknown and insignificant, to have ever become an object of your contempt and scorn. Disdain, abhor and loathe me, if your heart and head allow; and it shall be my care that my love and respect for you, not only as a fearless advocate of the slave, but as a dear and noble-hearted brother, on whose noble front and bearing, I recognize the image of my Father and God, suffer no abatement. But beware how you let your contempt for me lead you to despise the principles I advocate. Thanks to God, the influence of the principles embodied in the Constitution of the New-England Non-Resistance Society, and the Declaration of Sentiments put forth by the Convention that formed that Society, depends not on the name or influence of H. C. Wright, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, nor of any others. Nor can their onward course be stayed by any man or body of men. By their innate life and vigor, by the Divinity within them, by their near alliance to the heart and throne of God, they must go forward from conquest to conquest, till they have dashed in pieces and consumed all the governments and kingdoms of men, and established on their ruins the empire of the King Eternal.

Do not, any more, my brother, pour out your indignation, your scorn and contempt on the godlike principles of non-resistance—at least till you have had time to learn what they are, and by what arguments they are supported. You may be found fighting against God. May Heaven save you from the grief, sorrow and shame which I believe you are preparing for yourself by the course you are pursuing. Besides, think not for a moment, that principles so momentous, so magnificent, so solemn, so awfully impressive and potent in their bearing on the destiny of mankind, on earth and in eternity, can ever be put down by vociferous indignation or silent contempt. Contumely can never reach them. They are as far *above*, as H. C. Wright is *beneath*, your scorn and contempt.

Forget, then, the writer of this. Let him pass into that earthly oblivion, into which I know he *ought* to pass, and *will* shortly pass; and come out and argue the question. Expose the unsoundness and wickedness of the principles of non-resistance—or the no-human government theory, if you had rather call it so. Vindicate, by Christian arguments, the right of man to hold dominion over man. Or answer our arguments against the doctrine. Tell the world what you mean by human government, and reconcile your human government theory with the prayer to God—'Thy kingdom come,' and with the many other passages we cite to you. Tell to what extent, if any, man is invested with a governing power over man. Till you do this, I must denounce that principle which gives to man a governing power, or dominion over man, as a principle of slavery, anarchy and murder, and subscribe myself—*Thine*, for the immutable, illimitable, omnipotent, everlasting empire of Jehovah, and still sing—'Alleluia, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth.'

H. C. WRIGHT.

Orange Scott.

LETTER FROM HENRY GREW.

Mr. H. C. Wright:

My Dear Brother—I bear you record that you have a zeal for God; but is it according to knowledge? You express surprise, that your views of human governments 'could have produced such an excitement, among those who profess to have received Christ as their ruler,' &c. When you reflect that such persons firmly believe that 'the principle of non-allegiance' to human governments is subversive of one of the essential means God has, in his wisdom and benevolence, appointed for the restraining of that vile principle of selfishness which would recklessly sacrifice at its shrine all human rights; and when you consider also, what free access, the most erroneous and disorganizing principles find, through ignorance or depravity, to the human mind, your surprise may well cease.

I have read, with interest, your essays, &c., those of Pacificus and others, and find many excellent principles and precepts advocated; but no proof to sustain your provision of 'non-allegiance' to the powers which 'are ordained of God;' no proof, that the civil magistrate is not 'the minister of God to thee for good, as a REVENGER to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.' Rom. 13, 4. The fact that human governors exceed or abuse their rightful authority, is no argument in favor of *non*-allegiance.

You announce the glorious truth, 'THE LORD IS OUR JUDGE—THE LORD IS OUR LAWGIVER—THE LORD IS OUR KING—HE WILL SAVE US.' I ask, (for this is the question at issue,) does the Lord rule, and judge, and save, *with or without subordinate agencies and instrumentalities?* You call the Infinite, '*Supreme* Ruler.' This implies *inferior* rulers. Did not God rule, judge and save Israel by Moses? It is remarkable that Korah and his rebellious associates used the same plea as you do, to justify their 'non-allegiance' to Moses. 'THE LORD IS AMONG THEM,' (i. e. the children of Israel,) said they. How instructive is the awful sequel! As God had appointed Moses to be a minister unto them for good, he considered rebellion against Moses, *acting agreeably to his rightful authority*, as rebellion against himself. The application, to the question at issue, is obvious. It is entirely unavailing to say, that no particular individual is now selected, directly by God, as Moses was to govern: 'The powers that be *are ordained of God.*' It was rebellion against God to declare 'non-allegiance' to Moses, acting in his rightful authority, because God ordained him. Must it not then be rebellion against God to declare non-allegiance to the powers that be, for the same reason?

'Pacificus' adduces the case of God's displeasure against Israel for desiring a King, and remarks, 'If God has not, by this memorable example, shown that it is both criminal and foolish to organize and voluntarily sustain any common form of human government, let the friends of such governments show why this argument does not refute their scriptural claims.' What are the facts? 1 Sam. 8. 7-10-19, clearly shows that the Israelites would have a King in opposition to the will of God, plainly revealed to them by Samuel. God had ordained Samuel to judge Israel all the days of his life. 1, Sam. 7. 15. In desiring a King, they rejected God, who had appointed Samuel to rule over them. Their sin consisted, *not in subordinate allegiance to human government, but in rejecting that mode of human government which God had appointed, for another of their own.* The good sense of Pacificus must, I think, clearly perceive that he has much more in his conclusion than in his premises. It is worthy of the serious consideration of the opposers of all human government, that the very government, which, on account of the peculiar manner of it, is styled a Theocracy, was not maintained without human agencies. God appointed Moses and other prophets to rule and judge Israel.

How striking is the difference between Paul and Pacificus on this subject! With the former, human government is *an ordinance of God for good*. With the latter, it is an institution '*both criminal and foolish.*'

Pacificus appears to me to have fallen into error, by a misapplication of those precepts to civil magistrates which are addressed to christians, *in their private capacity*. It is indeed true that christians *in their general relations*, are prohibited from all avenging. It is however equally true, that in the relation or capacity of civil Ruler, man is required to act as an avenger. Rom. 13. 4.

It is sufficient to show the unsoundness of the arguments of Pacificus, to remind him that in a class of texts, he adduced to prove that the measures and policy of human governments are prohibited, he includes the general command, 'Thou shalt not kill.' Exod. 20. Now it is a fact that when this command was given, commands to put men to death for various sins were also given. It follows, therefore, that we must either charge God foolishly, or acknowledge that the general command not to kill, is reconcileable with the commands to kill in particular cases, and that the latter are exceptions to the former. If the general command not to kill, is reconcileable with all 'the sanguinary measures' of the Jewish polity, much more is it reconcileable with the requirement, that the civil magistrate should use the sword in a more limited manner. The discerning reader will perceive that the principle advocated of the rightful authority of the civil governor, to bear and use the sword, does not justify all the various modes in which it is used. It is manifest indeed that it is proper to use it, in some cases, for the public good, for he beareth not the sword in vain. I am inclined, however, to the opinion, that neither the safety of the community, or the New Testament, which is more particularly adapted to the present dispensation, requires us to put any man to death, after he is secured in the strong arm of the law.

When we consider the fact, that no one particular form of civil government would be best adapted to all the different nations of the earth, we perceive an adequate reason why no particular form is portrayed in the New Testament. No argument, therefore, can be founded on this fact against allegiance to the powers that be. The great and glorious design of the Son of God was to establish a kingdom which is not of this world. The King, the subjects, the laws, the ordinances, the privileges and glory of this kingdom of heaven, constitute the animating theme of the Apostles of the Lamb. It is destined to advance and to fill, with its renovating influences, the whole earth. All other kingdoms must fall before it. This however affords no more justification to those who, at present, declare non-allegiance to civil governors, than the fact of the approach of the reign of Messiah would have justified a Jew in declaring non-allegiance to the rulers of the preceding dispensation. Every reflecting mind will perceive a variety of ways, in which civil government, imperfect as it is, may, by its salutary restraints, subserve the interests of the Church of Christ in the present world.

You remark that, 'to acknowledge allegiance to such a government is to obey the will of man as the supreme law of life.' Is there then no difference between *subordinate* and *supreme* allegiance? To render *supreme* homage to men would be one erroneous extreme. Your principle of *non*-allegiance, is the other. The true medium lies between. When Henry the eighth required the enaction by Parliament of certain laws, the members informed him that they would comply with his wishes, so far as they could consistently with the work of God. He sent the messenger back with a demand for their compliance without any as fars, or so fars. Such claims are to be resisted, in the fear of the Lord, even unto death.

You observe, 'We cannot obey God and man.' Then the Word of God requires an impossibility, for it certainly requires obedience to both. Wives are commanded to obey their husbands, and children their parents, and, what is still more to our present purpose, christians are commanded to 'OBEY MAGISTRATES.' Titus 3. 1.

'Just so far (you say) as, in obeying this christian government, we obey human government, it is well.' How can you write of *obeying* human government at all, when you avow *non*-allegiance? Where there is no law, there can be no obedience or transgression. I might as well say, that just so far as, in obeying American law, I obey Turkish law, it is well. If it is well to *obey* human government, how can it be well to avow *non*-allegiance? This is not a mere play upon words. An important principle is involved. We are commanded to 'obey magistrates.' To do acts specified in the christian law in the New Testament, is not complying with the command to 'obey magistrates.' We are required by magistrates to do many things which are not specified in the christian law, although not inconsistent with that law. Now the doctrine of 'non-allegiance,' which you advocate, is a violation of the divine command to obey, for obligations to obey, and authority to command, are inseparable. The objection, that using the sword and avenging, is inconsistent with christian precepts, I have already answered. As the civil magistrate is specially recognized in the N. T. as an avenger, and as bearing the sword as a minister of God for good, this must be considered as an exception to the general precept, 'Resist not evil.'

You quote Blackstone in favor of the *supremacy* of divine law, and then triumphantly ask, 'What then becomes of our allegiance to human governments?' If we cannot obey them *independently* of the Almighty and his laws, does it therefore follow, that it is impossible to obey them *in subordination* to Him and his laws? The Apostle Peter, 1 Epis. 2. 13, teaches, that earthly rulers possess different degrees of authority; for the word supreme, in that passage, must be understood in a comparative sense in reference to earthly rulers. The infinite authority of Jehovah admits of no degrees.

That the divine commands, in respect to *principles of action*, 'cover the whole field of domestic, social and civil duties, of duties to God and to man; and (that) no authority or government can supersede this,' I freely admit. In respect *to particular acts* of duty, I must deny that the divine commands cover the whole field of either domestic, social or civil duties. Many of those duties arise out of contingencies, and must necessarily be submitted to the decision of Legislators, Parents and Magistrates, who are indeed ever bound to keep in view and revere the holy and righteous laws of Jehovah, as of supreme authority.

That the laws of Jesus Christ require precisely the same acts of all, in all the various relations of human society, is an erroneous principle. The divine command requires the child to obey the parent, but it does not require the parent to obey the child. The wife is commanded to obey the husband. The husband is not commanded to obey the wife. The christian in his private capacity, is forbidden to avenge himself, or to resist evil. The magistrate is required to avenge the public, for he is recognized as the minister of God, in the N. T. as an avenger; and, as such, a terror to evil doers.

A thousand quotations from Decatur or Wellington or others, exhibiting an *abuse* of authority, prove nothing against the proper use of civil authority. I join you in repudiating the doctrine, that men are irresponsible for all actions they perform in subjection to civil authority. If we are assured that the requirements of the highest civil authority are incompatible with the commands of God, (and of this we are bound to judge,) our compliance with such commands renders us guilty in the sight of God. This however proves nothing in favor of your principle of non-allegiance which violates the express command of God to 'obey magistrates.'

We must not adopt principles which are opposed to facts. We must not be wise above what is written. Is it not a matter of fact, that the very same New Testament of inspired truth, which requires individuals, in their general relations, to bear meekly and patiently, without resistance, all injuries, as did our blessed Master, requires of men, *in the particular relation of Rulers*, to bear and use the sword of vengeance as a terror to evil doers?

God wisely and benevolently adapts his plan of government *to the present state of the world*. Your plan, plausible as it may appear, will, I think, on thorough examination, be found to be *not* adapted to the present state of the world. The influence of virtuous motives *to that extent which the order of the community requires*, is prevented by the dreadful power of human depravity. You do well indeed to advocate the exercise of the blessed principles of meekness, patience and love. God grant that these principles may reign in all hearts. But you do not well, in attempting to remove the physical barriers which God has kindly ordained to operate where nobler motives fail. It is the determination of Jehovah to maintain order in the universe. He adapts the means to the end. When the purest motives failed to keep angels in their first estate, God prepared chains of darkness to restrain their malignant power until the period of their utter destruction. He has ordained the civil magistrate to punish the evil doer. This doctrine of no punishment forms no part of God's plan of governing his creatures. He is the 'just God,' as well as 'the Saviour.' The sword of vengeance must not be sheathed until the opposers of the Holy One submit to his righteous sceptre, or are destroyed forever. In the perfectly holy and happy universe which will succeed the final judgment and entire destruction of all the adversaries of the Eternal, no sword of vengeance will be necessary. At present, the terrors and the mercies of the Lord are combined to restrain and save us. What God hath joined, let no man put asunder.

Yours for the truth,
HENRY GREW.

MISCELLANEOUS.

MASSACHUSETTS—'PRIDE OF THE OLD THIRTEEN.'

The following remarks upon the soil, climate, scenery and productions of Massachusetts, and upon the enterprising character of her inhabitants, are extracted from an Address at the annual cattle shows of the Worcester, Hampshire, Hampden and Franklin Agricultural Societies, by Henry Colman, Commissioner for the agricultural survey of the State. What but Freedom could have made a State so prosperous and happy? A comparison of Massachusetts with the slavery-cursed, though naturally fruitful soil of the South, will present an argument in favor of Liberty, which he that runs may read.

Massachusetts! what delightful and precious associations cluster around that honored name. If there is no poetry, there is to the children of Massachusetts always music in the name; and if the poets never could weave it into verse, where is there a true son of this mother, who has not felt the very name—especially if heard in a foreign land,—strike, with a touch of melody, the chords of the soul?

Massachusetts is with many a despised land. Many will tell you with disdain that 'her territory is little larger than a pocket handkerchief; irregular in its shape; on the east like a long man in a Procrustean bed, not daring to stretch himself at full length; on the west rising into almost inaccessible mountains, bristling with firs. Here are wide tracts of blowing sand; and here again long extended and solitary pitch-pine plains. Here deep and undrained morasses, and there piles of granite, or rolling boulders, or fields covered as thickly with stones as a recently dug and unpicked patch of potatoes with its produce.' Then, too, they continue; 'the soil is thin and cold; it yields nothing but by hard labor and incessant manuring; and the wretched people must work or starve. The climate, too, is dreadful. There are the cold east winds in the spring, which come over you like the scraping of a new-filed saw; the bitter north-westers, which try the firmness of your muscles; and the early autumnal frosts, and the driving and bristled snow, which so often, without any reverence for persons, comes between the wind and your nobility. And then, too, the people; what are they but a pack of workers, rough-handed farmers, mechanics, shoemakers, manufacturers, and traders; and their vulgar wives and daughters, who condescend to use their needles and dabble in soap-suds, and presume to come from the kitchen into the parlor; so that a chivalrous gentleman of the genuine cockney stamp and of the last impression, finds himself as little at home among them as the monkey of the menagerie in his regimentals, when he found himself in the farmer's cattle yard. Then comes their insufferable ambition. Why there is not a mother that is not dreaming of it, nor a father that is not working hard that his son may be qualified to be Governor of the Commonwealth, or a delegate to Congress, or perhaps rise as high as to be member of the General Court and Justice of the Peace' Such are the terms in which some men would portray our beloved Commonwealth. Now allow a son of hers—would to heaven he were worthy of his descent,—to speak of her as in truth he can; but that must be very different from what he would if he had the power to do her justice.

The territory of Massachusetts is comparatively small; but it is capable of sustaining from its own products, in ease and comfort, a population four times as great as now inhabits it. Look at her productive industry in the mechanic arts! Who, before the ascertainment of the fact, could have imagined that the annual value of her domestic manufactures exceeded ninety millions of dollars? The amount of her agricultural productions, could its statistics be ascertained, would present as astounding results. Yet the developement of her agricultural resources and capacities has hardly been begun. Let us look at one of the most populous counties in the state, of an agricultural character. The whole number of acres in the county of Essex exceeds two hundred and seventy thousand. Of this only fourteen thousand are under tillage. Only ten thousand, exclusive of that which is in roads or water, are considered as unimprovable; but thirty-four thousand, though capable of improvement, are unimproved; and upwards of one hundred thousand acres are in wood or pasturage. Now parts of this county have produced in repeated instances more than one hundred bushels of corn to the acre, more than forty of rye, more than fifty of barley, more than thirty of wheat, more than eight hundred of carrots, more than nine hundred of Swedish turnip, more than five hundred of potatoes, and more than four tons of hay. These facts rest upon unquestionable testimony. The redemption of waste lands, in the county to which I refer, has in several instances of extensive improvements, increased its products twenty times in quantity and value; and has raised the value of the lands in many cases from five dollars to one hundred dollars per acre.

'The bounds of Massachusetts are irregular;' strange that nature should not have conformed more exactly to the rules of art and confined herself to right lines! The indentation of her shores however forms many valuable inlets and harbors, where her enterprising mariners find shelter and anchorage. Even her sandy shores and plains are not without their fertile spots. There is many an oasis in these deserts; and with the animal and vegetable deposits thrown up by the moving sea, even her sterile fields are made in many cases highly productive. The mountains, which form her western boundary, are not without their advantages. These constitute our dairy and grazing districts. They furnish the richest pasturage, and few of them are incapable of the cultivation of the most valuable grasses, esculent vegetables, oats, barley, and Indian corn. Some of these hill towns are advancing more rapidly in wealth than many of the towns embracing the richest alluvions of our valleys. Their inhabitants breathe an air, which gives strength and elasticity to their muscles, and spreads the vermillion hues of health over their countenances. They drink of the gushing spring, which pours its crystal streams from the sides of their mountains, for a draught of which many a settler on the verdant and beautiful prairies of the west would gladly give bushels of his wheat; and oftentimes, when I have followed the flight of an adventurous settler to his eagle's nest on some of our loftiest summits, I have been sure to find the abode of plenty and independence. Of the soils of Massachusetts, though we have our thin and hungry portions, we have little land, capable of it, which will not amply repay the labor and expense of cultivation. Our morasses and peat meadows, when subjected to the operations of a skilful husbandry, become eminently productive. Our sandy plains are yet to undergo the quickening process, of no doubtful efficacy, of plaster and clover; and in many cases even our roughest granite pastures, which seem almost to defy cultivation, have been brought under the scythe, sometimes at an enormous expense, and yet in the end a profitable outlay. I have yet to discover the instance of a single agricultural improvement in the State, managed with judgment, skill, and economy, which has not afforded an ample remuneration for the expense incurred, and always much more than doubled its value. In some cases, this value has been enhanced a hundred-fold. In this matter it would be easy to give facts upon facts, but time does not admit of it.

Of the climate of Massachusetts, it is enough to say that epidemic diseases are scarcely known among us; that we have no unhealthy districts of country; that a higher standard of health has not been reached in the known world. To the temperate, industrious and virtuous, no part of the world presents a fairer chance for the continuance of the physical and intellectual powers.

Of her social and political condition, I will speak only of the great and essential elements. What can we ask more, then, than that all labor should be voluntary; that the fruits of honest industry should belong to those, who have produced them; that religious liberty should be enjoyed in its widest latitude; that justice should be carefully and promptly administered, and accessible to the most humble and the least protected; that the dominion of the law should be unquestioned; that the burdens of society should press with a weight too light even to be perceived, by the honest citizen any more than the beautiful element, which constantly surrounds him; that property should be very equally divided, and the various avenues to business be open to all; that a true equality should reign every where; that education, simple and liberal, should freely proffer its advantages to all; that property and distinction should be alike accessible to all; that the rights of one should operate no prejudice to the lawful success of another; and lastly, that the people should be sovereign, and every man, be he high or low, rich or poor, should be directly responsible to the public judgment. In all these substantial elements of social order and good, what community has ever surpassed our own?

Of the picturesque beauty of the scenery of Massachusetts, few even of her own children are fully conscious. In the general neatness and comfort of her dwellings; in the beauty and thrift of her numerous villages; in the improved taste, and every where the increasing attention paid to rural embellishments; in the neat cottage exhibiting its white front and its Venetian blinds on the side of some beautiful hill, or on the margin of some peaceful lake, its door yard crowded with ornamental trees, its piazzas trellissed with vines, and its avenues decorated with flowers; in the school house, which meets you so often at the division of the roads, crowded with its courteous, happy, and buoyant congregation; in the lyceums, academies and colleges for the higher departments of learning which present themselves in such frequent vicinity; in the village church, which lifts its glittering spire from the midst of some umbrageous valley, perhaps by the banks of some flowing stream, the traveller who sympathises in what is beautiful in itself and delicious and refreshing from its associations, will be constantly charmed and gratified as he passes over this blessed territory. Or is he in search of the picturesque and the romantic, let him follow round our indented sea-shore and traverse its hard-trodden beaches where the ocean is continually pouring out its phosphorescent jewels at his feet; let him ascend some of the beautiful prominences in the vicinity of the capital; let him follow the course of the Merrimack, and mark its deep and its broken current, the many [illegible] which occasionally open their glistening surface to his eye as he traverses its rich and cultivated shores; let him come into your own county and observe its improved summits, covered in the season of vegetation luxuriance with their rich herbage, their bending [illegible] and their numerous herds; let him visit some of the charming lakes and remark them, when, on their [illegible]ly fringed sides, the gorgeousness of their autumnal foliage is reflected in all its variegated brilliancy in their mirrored surface; let him pass over to the valley of the Connecticut, and from its mounts Holyoke and Sugar Loaf, Pocumtuck or Round Hill, let him cast his eye over these extended valleys of exuberant fertility, of high cultivation, and of indescribable magnificence and splendor; let him follow up the Deerfield in its winding course through the beautiful valley of Charlemont, and among the gathering and deepening mountains of Zoar; and as he ascends the Hoosac mountain from the east, let him trace the romantic passage of this wayward stream by the silver radiance of its waters as they find their passage through the deep and dense, and frowning mountains which at every step seem determined to resist their progress; let him pursue his journey until he reaches the western descent of the Hoosic range; and let him stop at this striking spot, and mark the unrivalled beauty and sublimity of the valley and mountain scenery as it first bursts upon the view; let him take his stand where the Hoosic and the Housatonic rise in the close vicinity of each other, and follow down their winding currents until they pass beyond the boundaries of the state; let him, from whatever point he may choose, look down upon the exquisitely beautiful valleys of Williamstown, of Lanesboro', of Pittsfield, of Lee, of Hop-Brook, of Stockbridge, of Lenox, of Great Barrington, of Sheffield, of Richmond and of Egremont; and if his eye is not enchanted, his affections warmed, his taste improved, his imagination illumined and lifted up, it is because he has not the common attributes of humanity.

Distress in Mississippi.—The Milledgeville (Georgia) Recorder of May 7th says:

Perhaps a stronger evidence of the deplorable state of things, in regard to pecuniary matters, of some of the states South and West of us, could not be presented, than one that passed before us the other day. A gang of some 60 or 70 negroes, passed through this place a few days ago, from Mississippi, seeking, as we understood, a market. Such is the pecuniary embarrassments of that State, as well as others, that in order to lessen the sacrifice on the sales of negroes which sales have to be made, they are brought back to the old and impoverished States for sale, from the very region of inexhaustible fertility. This is a strange and unnatural state of affairs, and speaks trumpet-tongued of the lamentable pecuniary situation of the States from which they come. We are informed that a great number of plantations of the greatest fertility, are lying uncultivated and uncared for, the laborers having been sent off, to Orleans and other places to find a market, to pay the debts of the owners. This is a gloomy representation, and we fear no less true than sad.

Land and Negroes in Mississippi.—At the Sheriff's sales in Holmes county, likely negroes sell for seven or eight hundred dollars. Land, on the other hand, was sacrificed for a mere song, averaging in some instances, for cash, not more than one dollar for acre that could not have been bought at private sale on credit for less than ten or fifteen dollars.

Clerical Duelling.—The year 1764 was remarkable for the duels then frequent among clergymen in England. The Rev. Mr. Hill was killed in a duel by Cornet Gardner, of the Carabineers. The Rev. Mr. Bate fought two duels, and was afterwards created Knight by the King. The Rev. Mr. Allen killed a Mr. Delany in a duel, in Hyde Park, without incurring ecclesiastical censure, though Judge Buller, on account of the extremely bad conduct of the clergyman, strongly charged the Jury upon his guilt of murder, while the King knighted the Rev. Sir Bate Dudley after his two questionable duels, one fought in 1780.—*Investigator.*

The Queen rejected as a Communicant.—The Bishop of Exeter, the other day, refused to administer the sacrament to the Queen, because thirteen hours before, she had been in a play house. Lord Wellington interfered, like one of those leeches that had been devouring the country, and told the Bishop that he had done wrong in being so conscientious; and the Bishop of London, with less conscience than the Bishop of Exeter, willing to dabble in all dirty messes, administered the sacrament. But the Bishop of Exeter told the Duke of Wellington, that he neither cared for him nor the Queen; he would not be put down by any one.—*Kentish Observer.*

Proscription—Proscription! We learn from Zion's Watchman, that the aristocrats in the Methodist church continue their work of *expulsion*.

That paper records two new cases in the city of New York. One case is that of a bro. Dorr. A charge of falsehood was alleged against him. The charge, as usual in such cases, was without foundation. He is expelled from the church. Abolitionism is the crime.

The other case is Dr. Barrett, a preacher. He has for some time been shut out of the pulpits, and finally his name stricken from the list of managers of the Missionary Society. That is the way they do things in the Methodist Church. They will find it '*hard to kick against the pricks.*'—*Union Herald.*

Historical Collections of the Towns of Massachusetts.—A work is just published, in a royal octavo volume, of more than 600 pages, entitled Historical Collections, or a collection of facts, traditions, biographical sketches and anecdotes, relating to every town in Massachusetts, together with a geographical description of each town, illustrated by 200 engravings, chiefly on wood, representing many of the more striking objects and scenes described in the work: by John Warner Barber, the author of a work of similar character on the state of Connecticut. This work contains a great mass of historical and topographical facts arranged under the heads of the several towns, many of which are successfully illustrated by drawings made by the author on the spot. It is evidently a work of great industry, as a great portion of the information must have been obtained only by personal inquiry by the author, in the vicinity of the objects described. Many of the views are very neat, and give a striking representation of their respective subjects.—*Boston D. Adv.*

Average of a military life.—The sacrifice of human life in maintaining military establishments in our eastern possessions, and western colonies, is immense. The average life of a soldier, serving abroad, is not more than seven years; thus we have to raise a new army always in that brief period. In Sierra Leone it is not more than two years; and thus, for a settlement the most useless of all, the greatest expense is incurred, and the greatest destruction is the consequence. This is a matter worthy of serious consideration among our philanthropists; political economists are too cold-blooded to weigh it in its true light.—*London paper.*

For Posterity.—The Georgia Conference of the M. E. Church, at its session in 1837, have solemnly declared as follows: 'Slavery as it exists in the United States is not a moral evil.' John Wesley in 1791, a few days before his death, said: 'Go on, in the name of God, and in the power of his might, till even American Slavery (the vilest that ever saw the sun) shall vanish away before it.'

Emigration to Victoria's Land. We learn from the *Cleveland Observer*, that about 30 fugitives, that a few days since, to the City of Detroit, on a visit to the Canadas, found their way to the land of contentment. Yes, they found their way to Detroit, the Black Laws of Ohio to the contrary notwithstanding! Surely, the negro-watchers of Ohio are not very vigilant! The *servile* nobles will have to try their skill again.—*Union Herald.*

Bowdoin College.—On Wednesday last, Professor Leonard Woods, Jr. of the Bangor Theological Institution, was elected President of Bowdoin College. He is a son of Dr. Woods, of Andover Theological Institution, and is about 34 years of age.

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